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ASPECTS OF YORKSHIRE
EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA
1760-1880

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4. HULL AS AN EMIGRATION PORT, 1850-60.

The continuation of Hull's emigration trade into the 'fifties is superficially surprising. In a period when all the advantages of an emigration port seemed to lie more with Liverpool, Hull's expectations could be little more than pessimistic. Nevertheless, Hull's interest was maintained by large-scale agricultural emigration from the port's traditional hinterland, especially in the first years of the decade. At the same time, not all emigrants from the East Riding and north Lincolnshire sailed by the Humber. Many were attracted by the increasing ease of reaching Liverpool, and by the more frequent and speedier passages available from that port.

A brief consideration of the background to agricultural emigration in general, and to East Riding and north Lincolnshire emigration in particular, is necessary before detailing individual ship departures and passenger numbers each year from Hull. Some treatment of the recognition by Hull commercial interests of Liverpool's role in transmitting emigrants is also included.

Despite some faltering improvement in agricultural conditions in the mid-1840's, depression was again evident in many country areas by the late 'forties and into the early 'fifties. The repeal of the duties on corn in 1846, though not coming into effect until February, 1849, overrode the interests of the landlord class in favour of industrial employers, and, to a lesser extent, the urban working classes. Wheat imports, which in the years, 1843-45, had amounted to rather more than one million quarters, and, in 1846, to 2,344,000, rose sharply to 4,465,000 the following year, and continued to average 4,400,000 in the years, 1848-52. Conversely, with increased importation, corn prices fell: in 1847, corn averaged 69s.9d. a quarter, with a peak of 93s. in the June; in 1848 and 1849, 50s. 6d. and 44s.3d.; and in 1850 and 1851, 40s.3d. and 38s.6d. As corn prices fell, agricultural labourers suffered wage reductions in the later 'forties; and whereas, by 1850, falling prices had meant a substantial increase in the real wages of many sections of the working class, rural workers were a notable exception. The farm labourer who, before 1846, had complained, "I be protected and I be starving", had little cause for optimism in the years after Repeal.

Despite lugubrious predictions to the contrary in 1846, the picture - for the far-sighted landlord and farmer, at least - was not one of total gloom. Far from being ruined, agriculture, judged by the twin indices of land prices and rents alone, was more prosperous in the mid-'seventies than in the mid-'forties. Increasing prosperity for the landlord and farmer was based on two prime factors: the rise in productive efficiency; and the widening demand for the most expensive foodstuffs, such as meat. Until the mid-'seventies, there was no decrease in arable acreage - indeed, the reverse occurred. Pasturage increased and hitherto uncultivated land was utilised. The farmer, able to adapt himself and to exploit the changing emphases in agriculture, prospered. There were always some farmers, however, especially those faced with the uncertainties of agriculture at the turn of the mid-century, who preferred to express their powers of adaptability by deciding to sell out and emigrate. Encouraged by news from overseas and armed with "small capital", they were determined to secure a future for themselves and their children.

For the rural labourer, the picture was, overall, less rosy. In the late 'forties and early 'fifties, with the agricultural scene still uncertain in the face of increased corn importation and lowered prices, the labourer's position was depressed; and, in general, as farmers received less for their corn, so farm workers received less for their labours. Moreover, gradually increasing productive efficiency meant a slow reduction in the numbers engaged in agriculture. Slowly at first, but with gathering impetus, the machine took over a majority of the tasks needing many hands in earlier decades. As the labourer found the demand for his work falling, and with it his remuneration, especially in areas remote from factory or mining employment, rather than search perhaps fruitlessly for work at home, he considered with increasing interest his chances of success overseas. Ironically, the removal of substantial numbers of his 'surplus' kind in this way from any given locality often served to enhance the employment chances and wages of those remaining.^{1.}

1. Cole and Postgate, The Common People...., pp.304, 312-13, 345-46, 353; Walt Whitman Rostow, The Trade Cycle, Living Standards and Movements of Discontent, p.59; Shepperson, British Emigration, pp.67-68; Pauline Gregg, Social and Economic History of Britain, pp.161, 312.

In broad terms, these were the general trends affecting agriculture in the late 'forties and early 'fifties. Within the compass of Yorkshire, and particularly in the East Riding, the same depression and uncertainties produced their impact directly on farmer and labourer, and indirectly on Hull's role as an emigration port.

In the Vale of York, "the depressed state of the agricultural interest" in 1849 found expression in several meetings and petitions "for equitable protection to native industry". At one such meeting, at the Town Hall, Wetherby, about two hundred tenant farmers gathered to express their feelings against the last Repeal; and at a further meeting in the June, the same farmers considered what could be done "to alleviate the present distressed state of the agricultural community".¹ Similarly, the Yorkshire Agricultural Society's annual meeting, held at Thirsk in May, 1851, declared that the previous year had been one of "unprecedented depression and privation to those engaged in agricultural pursuits".²

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 9 Jun. 1849.

2. Ibid., 17 May 1851.

In the East Riding, the spring of 1849 was noteworthy for the number of land-sales taking place, especially around Driffield, and the changes likely at the following Lady Day. True, some of the farmers had retired or died, but others were selling before emigrating to North America or Australia. The ready availability of purchasers was equally significant. Whilst the buyers anticipated better times for Wolds' agriculture, and were willing to invest in an unsettled market, and probably at an advantageous price, a number of the vendors expected better returns - and ultimately greater security - overseas.^{1.} Many of the spring sailings from Hull carried "small farmers" as part of their complement - for instance, the Minstrel, for Quebec, in 1849, and several departures for Canada and the United States in 1851. Of the 66 passengers aboard the Harlequin for New York in 1852, ten were farmers.^{2.}

If farmers were frequently noted as passengers on Hull vessels, labourers from the East Riding and north Lincolnshire were observed to an even greater extent, together with the rural craftsmen - blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters and the like. Falling corn prices, want of

1. Hull Advertiser, 16 Mar. 1849.

2. Ibid., 25 May 1849, 4 Apr. 1851; Hull News, 13 Mar. 1852.

employment (or reduced wages when work was available) and bleak prospects were all factors making for general rural depression in the two areas. Never within living memory had work been so scarce in the Vale of York so late in the season as early June (1849).¹ The same conditions prevalent that year to the east and south-east, despite "the excellent prospects of success in the colonies and the States", did not immediately occasion the expected degree of emigration.² By the spring of 1850, however, removal was in full swing; and the complements of the Prince Regent and Fergus (for Quebec), and of the Harlequin and Ross (for New York), consisted almost entirely of labourers from north and south of the Humber.³ Emigration of labourers continued at a very high rate in 1851, encouraged by reports that work was abundant and poverty the exception in North America; and that "remuneration for labour not obtainable here is there readily granted to the industrious workman".⁴ Moreover, twenty-one emigrants by Hull that year received parish assistance to the extent of free passage (only) on the three ships, Isabella, Meteor and Rolla.⁵

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 9 June, 1849.

2. Hull Advertiser, 25 May 1849.

3. Ibid., 12 Apr. 1850.

4. Ibid., 4 Apr. 1851.

5. Helen I. Cowan, p.299 (Table X), compiled from Parliamentary Paper, 1852-53, LXVlll (1650), 17.

By the early summer of 1851, emigration of labour across the Atlantic was beginning to have its effect on employment prospects in East Riding agriculture. Although the outlook was still gloomy, and the numbers leaving rural districts in the Riding quite unprecedented, those labourers remaining, because of the thinning of their ranks, were now better employed than could ever have been reasonably anticipated.¹ Further substantial emigration in the spring of 1852, and government plans for extensive drainage, improved the labourer's lot at home still further. Most annual servants found masters at the autumn hirings.² Emigration continued in 1853 and farm workers' conditions were even better in the Riding. Most were fully employed at higher wages, with the expectation of yet more increases at the ensuing Martinmas hirings.³ At Malton second statutes in

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 31 May 1851.

2. Yorkshire Gazette, 24 Apr. 1852; Hull News, 13 Mar., 24 Apr. 27 Nov. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 16 Apr. 1852. When the Harlequin, for example, sailed from Hull for New York in 1852, her complement consisted of 45 labourers, ten farmers, two wheelwrights, two plasterers, one shoemaker, one carpenter, one blacksmith, one millwright, one master machinist (and two seamen). Rural labourers often proved to be "innocents abroad" in the town. One, Francis Burton, an intending emigrant by the Prince Regent in 1852, was relieved of £20 by a confidence trick in the Spotted House Inn, Bond Street, Hull; and in a separate incident the same week, John McKenna, an emigrant from Grimsby, lost £5 (Hull News, 17 Apr. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 16 Apr. 1852).

3. Hull News, 12 Nov. 1853.

November, there was great demand at good wages for servants of both sexes.^{1.} Rural emigration continued throughout the decade in varying degrees. Passengers on the Fergus in 1857 were "chiefly healthy young men and women, married or marriageable, and with one exception[were]either farm labourers or country tradesmen".^{2.}

Further treatment of emigration from the Wolds, especially from the neighbourhood of Driffield, is appropriate here. The many sales of land taking place in Driffield, and the departure of farmers with "small capital" from the same area in the spring of 1849 on vessels such as the Minstrel, from Hull, have already been noted.^{3.} Many more leave-takings occurred in Driffield in 1851 than for several years past, with North America the principal destination. Australia and Port Natal which had been viewed by some with favour, lost their attraction on receipt of indifferent reports.^{4.}

1. Hull News, 26 Nov. 1853.

2. Hull Advertiser, 11 Apr. 1857.

3. Ibid., 16 Mar., 25 May 1849.

4. Ibid., 18 Apr. 1851; Yorkshire Gazette, 19 Apr. 1851.

Perhaps the most illuminating record of population changes in the area is contained in the 1851 Census of the Driffield Union, which comprised forty-three purely agricultural townships and parishes on or near the eastern edge of the Wolds. In the decade, 1841-51, the total population of the Union rose from 16,756 to 18,265, nearly one-half the overall increase being in Driffield alone. In no fewer than twelve villages, however, there was a substantial de-population during the period. Whilst it is not suggested that this exodus occurred entirely in 1849-51, emigration overseas of the "best and most thrifty of agricultural labourers and craftsmen, seeing no chance of improvement in their condition", was certainly proposed as a major reason. A second factor was that most of the villages suffering decreases were in the hands of large landed proprietors of entailed estates. A cottage, it was claimed, was not maintained, fell into disrepair and was never re-built, whereupon the labourer was obliged to seek work, and a home for himself and family, outside the area,

even perhaps outside the country.^{1.} An additional hardship was the distance often travelled by the labourer between home and work. The case of one elderly labourer illustrates the point. William Danby, aged 73, lived in a cottage in Beeford Lane, Driffield, and for the previous sixteen years had been employed by Mr. Hought, of Moortown. During that time, Danby had walked the return journey of five miles every work-day, as well as almost always dining at his master's table on Sundays.^{2.}

The Driffield area continued to be represented in the 'fifties whenever the emigration of East Riding labourers was noted. Many left in 1852.^{3.} In

1. Hull Advertiser, 27 Jun. 1851; E.C.H., 3 Jul. 1851. The twelve villages recording decreases were: Butterwick (in 1841, 120 inhabitants; in 1851, 116), Cowlam (89; 62), Elmswell (158; 134), Garton-on-the-Wolds (587; 559), Helporthorpe (168; 154), Kelk (223; 210), Lowthorpe (189; 164), Middleton-on-the-Wolds (669; 659), Skerne (232; 213), Sledmere (445; 441), Southburn (108; 103) and Watton (343; 329). In the case of the agricultural Northallerton district in the North Riding, an overall decrease in population occurred, from 12,575 in 1841, to 12,460, in 1851. It was calculated that since there had been 3,434 births and 2,231 deaths registered in the period, 1841-51, 1,318 persons must have left the area in $9\frac{3}{4}$ years, a proportion for overseas (Yorkshire Gazette, 10 May 1851).
2. Hull News, 10 Jun. 1854. The total distance walked by Danby to and from his work in the sixteen years was estimated at 29,200 miles!
3. Hull Advertiser, 16 Apr. 1852.

the October, it was reported that one man living in or near Kirby Underdale, mid-way between Drifffield and York, in order to obtain a wife to accompany him abroad, stood in front of the church door. On a large placard attached to his hat was inscribed the request: "Wanted, a woman to make a wife of, with a little money, to go to America".^{1.} The emigrants from the neighbourhood of Drifffield in 1857 were considered "the best class of farm servants and young people who [could] do better in America than at home, where they [had] received so little attention from their employers".^{2.} All the two hundred or so passengers sailing on the Fergus that April for Quebec, had left Drifffield or nearby-Nafferton, Sledmere, Hutton Cranswick, Lockington, Cottam, Burton Agnes, and other places at the foot of the Yorkshire Wolds.^{3.} Forty emigrants left Beeford, between Drifffield and the coast, about the same time.^{4.}

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 30 Oct. 1852.

2. Hull Advertiser, 18 Apr. 1857.

3. Ibid., 11 Apr. 1857.

4. Ibid., 18 Apr. 1857.

Yet emigration from the eastern side of Yorkshire was by no means restricted to Driffield and the Wolds. It is possible that when Sir Charles Wood in 1851 "had to take into his own hands one of his Bubwith farms", south-east of York, "the tenant having relinquished it in consequence of the depression of prices", the latter was leaving the area as an emigrant.¹ Many farm workers quitted the villages of Holderness and the eastern littoral, including the hinterlands of Bridlington and Scarborough, for overseas in 1849, 51 and 52.² Out of a population of 720 at Brandesburton, near Beverley, fifty-two agriculturists emigrated to America in the first half of 1851.³ In one village near Bridlington with about three hundred inhabitants, nearly two hundred were preparing to leave for the same destination in the April. Thirty persons had set out from Pickering and forty or fifty from Seamer, "Some hundreds", it was reported, were about to leave the twenty or so 'street towns', between Kirby Moorside and Scarborough, on the northern edge of the Vale of Pickering. Most of the family heads were considered the best labourers, going "because they [had] not remunerative work at home".⁴

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 10 May 1851. Sir Charles Wood: Chancellor of the Exchequer, July 1846-1852, in Lord J. Russell's 1st Cabinet.
2. Hull Advertiser, 25 May 1849, 16 Apr. 1852; Yorkshire Gazette, 5 Apr. 1851.
3. Doncaster Gazette, 20 Jun. 1851.
4. Yorkshire Gazette, 5 Apr. 1851.

Families left Goole in early 1851 for the same reason.^{1.}

South of the Humber similar agricultural conditions in the early 1850's produced extensive rural emigration through Hull from the Lindsey division of Lincolnshire and, to a lesser extent, from the northern parts of Nottinghamshire. Although in the case of the latter county the northward flow of the Trent into the Humber doubtless encouraged many to seek passage at Hull, a greater proportion probably sailed by Liverpool.^{2.}

The north Lincolnshire farmer, like his Yorkshire counterpart, could catalogue many grievances, justified or otherwise, at the turn of the mid-century. In many cases these were reasons enough for the farmer to vindicate his selling-out and seeking an anticipated security overseas for himself and particularly for his progeny. William Torr, "a practical farmer" from Riby, near Grimsby, was the Lincolnshire delegate to the Liverpool Protectionist Demonstration of June, 1850. Noting that Lincolnshire was one of the wealthiest, most highly cultivated English counties, Torr nevertheless confirmed the great agricultural distress there. One example of the losses borne by farmers

1. Halifax Guardian, 22 Feb. 1851.

2. Even in parts of rural Yorkshire, the attractions of Hull and Liverpool were finely balanced. In 1850, for example, fifteen persons, mostly from Sykehouse, left Snaith on April 3rd. by the first down train for Hull; and on the following day, several emigrants from Cowick left Snaith by the 9.0 a.m. up train for Liverpool (Doncaster Gazette, 12 Apr. 1850).

in the county related to a fertile Lincolnshire Wolds' farm of 540 acres: in its most recent two years' occupancy, £5,000 had been laid out, but at May Day, 1850, the farm had been sold for only £3,050. This deficit of £1,950 over two years was paralleled by great losses in rent sustained by north Lincolnshire farmers. Wheat and barley fetched only low prices - compared with the years before Repeal. The best agricultural workers were emigrating. Farmers were still obliged to pay income tax as formerly, though they possessed neither income nor profits to do so.¹ No doubt influenced by some or all of these factors, two or three farmers occupying "good farms and...in comfortable circumstances" at Habrough and Killingholme, north-west of Grimsby and only about three miles from the seat of the Earl of Yarborough, emigrated to America in the spring of 1852. Several labourers accompanied them. Later in the year, on receipt of glowing reports from the farmers, "now settled...in great prosperity", two others in the same neighbourhood were about to sell their farms and follow suit.²

1. Doncaster Gazette, 14 Jun. 1850.

2. Doncaster Gazette, 10 Dec. 1852. Similarly, three "gentlemen" who had emigrated in November, 1849, from Blyth (near Bawtry), Notts., by their example and reports from America, "inspired a vast number to the determination of leaving their native land" the following spring (Ibid., 31 May 1850).

As in the East Riding, farm labourers and servants formed the majority of those emigrating in the early 'fifties from north Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. The land-owning farmer, according to his acreage, had a number of basic choices open to him in this unsettled period: he could bide his time and await some clarification of agricultural trends; or he could sell his land (at a perhaps disadvantageous price) and re-invest his capital in home industry or North American acres. The labourer, however, unemployed or engaged at reduced rates, possessed no such security in the form of land ownership. To him the options seemed almost invariably bleaker: to continue eking out an existence at home, perhaps on the parish; to seek alien employment in factory or mine, a route more likely for the farm workers of north Nottinghamshire than for the labourers of the East Riding; or by dint of hard work and thrift overseas to achieve his dream of owning land.

Before putting his emigration plans into operation, however, the rural worker had to find the means. In mid-1851, those in north Lincolnshire able to "raise the funds [were] leaving the country with as little delay as possible".¹ For three families the following spring,

1. Doncaster Gazette, 6 Jun. 1851, citing Lincolnshire Chronicle.

"raising the means requisite for a trip to America" entailed disposing of their furniture and other effects by auction in Caistor market place.^{1.}

Often the means to emigrate was restricted to the head of the family, as in the case of labourers from villages near Doncaster in 1851.^{2.} At Scawby, near Brigg, several families were due to be broken up by the sailing of about twenty persons in early 1852.^{3.} One agricultural labourer who left Caistor for America in March, 1852, changed his mind at the last moment before sailing, forfeited his fare and returned home to his wife and children.^{4.} Another who had no such desire to return was "the heartless husband of a poor deserving woman", also of Caistor, left with four young children in a state of near destitution: "under a distress for rent", furniture and other belongings were disposed of by public auction.^{5.}

1. Hull Advertiser, 5 Mar., 1852. An East Riding auction is cited in Appendix B-3.
2. Doncaster Gazette, 4 Apr. 1851.
3. Ibid., 12 Mar. 1852. No doubt most of the families hoped to be re-united later.
4. Hull Advertiser, 12 Mar. 1852.
5. Doncaster Gazette, 10 Dec. 1852.

Those who wished to emigrate, but did not possess the means, were sometimes assisted. In 1851, for example, twenty-one emigrants, probably from north Lincolnshire, sailed from Hull on three vessels after their parish(es) had assisted them to the extent of free passage.¹ At the same time, to permit their emigration to Canada, three labourers - George Starr, Joseph and Henry Wilson (accompanied by their wives and children) - were each granted sums of £10 by the Board of Guardians at Worksop (Notts.) Union out of funds raised for the relief of the poor.² Charles Robinson was employed on the Nottinghamshire lands of Earl Manvers until April, 1849, when his family's departure for Illinois was made possible by the generosity of his fellow-workmen.³ A not inconsiderable number of Lincolnshire workers emigrated in 1851 under the aegis

1. Helen I. Cowan, p.299 (Table X).

2. Doncaster Gazette, 14 Mar. 1851.

3. Charles Robinson, Lockport, Ill., to "one of Earl Manvers's workmen", 6 Feb. 1851 (extract of letters in Ibid., 21 Mar. 1851). Whilst Robinson at the time of writing had not yet been able to buy land and had exchanged an English master for an American, he was optimistic of his family's prospects. "We have had 160 acres of land offered to us for £100", he wrote, "viz., 100 acres of cleared land and 60 of good timber land, twelve miles from Chicago".

of the Mormon faith.^{1.} Two years later, some debt-ridden emigrants from the neighbourhood of Grimsby assisted themselves by slipping off, "leaving both rent and debts upon the shelf"; whilst others begged financial help "to effect an exit in something like a respectable style, which, when the amount has proved sufficient, has been kept, and they have changed their minds".^{2.}

In general, the pattern of rural emigration from the northern ports of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire was similar to that from the East Riding of Yorkshire. Scarcity of work and small remuneration were the preoccupations in almost every village; and the "emigration fever" of 1850 developed into the "emigration mania" of 1851-52. By the spring of 1850, many workers, considered the best, were leaving the Lincoln Wolds.^{3.} In the northern triangle of Nottinghamshire, the departures included four who left Blyth for Kingston, C.W., and the United States in May.^{4.} The Jackson family set out from

1. Doncaster Gazette, 30 May 1851. A full treatment of Mormon emigration from the North and elsewhere is to be found in P.A.M. Taylor, Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century (Edinburgh & London, 1965).
2. E.C.H., 12 May 1853.
3. Doncaster Gazette, 14 Jun. 1850. Emigrants also left Epworth (Sheffield Times, 30 Mar., 25 May 1850).
4. Doncaster Gazette, 31 May 1850.

Ranskill, near Bawtry, and another family from Mattersey, near East Retford, in June for Liverpool and America.¹ In August, many families were preparing to leave Gringley on the Hill, near Gainsborough; about a dozen labourers had left the same village earlier that year.²

Emigration of labourers from the two counties increased in 1851. In north Lincolnshire, the agricultural situation was considered the worst for many years. Labourers with large families to support were often totally without work; and the position of farm servants was little better for, even when employed, their wages had been drastically reduced. Little hiring occurred at Gainsborough statutes in May. Labourers considered of the best type failed to obtain work, farmers being satisfied with, or obliged to employ inferior men to save wages. A contemporary conclusion was that the best men were emigrating, if at all possible, whilst the inferior hands and paupers were staying. Emigration was commonplace in most of the counties' northern villages, but Gainsborough, including Hemswell, Caistor, the Isle of Axholme and Finningley, all received specific press mention.³

1. Doncaster Gazette, 21 Jun., 1850. Several other families intended leaving in spring, 1851.
2. Ibid., 23 Aug. 1850.
3. Ibid., 4 Apr., 30 May, 6, 20 Jun. 1851; Hull Advertiser, 20 Jun. 1851.

By 1852, emigration mania was widespread to the south of the Humber. Discouraged by lack of work and low wages at home and encouraged by enthusiastic letters from America, labourers and servants streamed towards Hull and Liverpool. As early as February, many farm workers were setting out from the vicinities of Gainsborough, Caistor, including Kermington, and Hibaldstow, south-west of Brigg.^{1.}

At this point, a trend similar to that which had begun the previous year in the East Riding may be noted. In early March, concurrent with the impending departure of several families from Haxey in the Isle of Axholme, farmers in a nearby village were raising the wages of their labourers to keep good workmen at home. Around Brigg, several large land-owners, alarmed by the exodus for overseas, took a similar line with their best labourers, one important occupier suggesting at least 2s. a day.^{2.} At Gainsborough, farmers were beginning to worry about their supply of labour and predicted that if emigration continued at that rate,

1. Hull Advertiser, 27 Feb., 5, 12 Mar. 1852.
2. Doncaster Gazette, 12 Mar. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 23 Apr. 1852. The neighbouring villages of Hibaldstow, Scawby and Broughton were noted as centres of emigration.

Lincolnshire would soon find her most efficient workers in America and her least adequate at home.^{1.} Near Caistor, the Earl of Yarborough provided better accommodation for his labourers in "newly-erected elegant and commodious cottages with garden allotments on many parts of his estate". Nevertheless, the scarcity of small-holdings thereabouts still reduced large numbers of "industrious and deserving men" to seek emigration as a remedy. Even some who were actually renting small-holdings left later in the year for better prospects abroad and possibly to "avoid the pressure of heavy liabilities".^{2.}

The raising of wages, however, by some Isle of Axholme and Brigg farmers did not represent uniformity of action either there or in other areas of Lincolnshire. When Mr. Faviell, of Amcotts Lodge, in the Isle, raised his labourers' wages from

1. Doncaster Gazette, 19 Mar. 1852; Hull News, 27 Mar. 1852. Hemswell was a centre of emigration.
2. Hull Advertiser, 9 Apr. 1852; Doncaster Gazette, 16 Apr., 10 Dec. 1852.

1s.8d. to 2s. a day in early 1853, it was hoped that his example would be followed by others.¹ But two months later, emigration had still not produced the anticipated rise in many parts of the Isle.² Nor in reverse did possible wage rises dissuade many from leaving other Lincolnshire farms that spring, large excursions being noted from East and West Butterwick and Keadby, north-east of Epworth, and from Kirton in Lindsey, near Brigg.³

The agricultural situation in north Nottinghamshire appears to have improved somewhat by 1853. In East Retford Union, for instance, the number of chargeable vagrants had diminished dramatically in the years, 1850-52: from 2,273 to 996, and then to 610. Causes suggested were the effects of cheap food, and the scarcity of labourers produced by extensive emigration.⁴ By June 1853, rural workers at Ollerton were fully employed at "fair wages"; and at the Martinmas hirings it was expected that good ploughmen, noting the scarcity of hands caused by emigration, would ask for improved wages.⁵ Workers' requests for an advance to 2s.6d. a day in wages were often successful

1. Doncaster Gazette, 18 Feb. 1853.

2. Ibid., 29 Apr. 1853.

3. E.C.H., 7 Apr. 1853; Hull News, 9 Apr. 1853; Doncaster Gazette, 15 Apr., 6 May 1853.

4. Doncaster Gazette, 21 Jan. 1853.

5. Ibid., 17 Jun. 1853.

at Ollerton and in other parts of the county, though where increases were resisted by employers, some labourers remained out of work.¹

But even if wages had been increased to 2s. or 2s.6d. a day throughout north Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, they would still have been but a pale reflection of those quoted by former colleagues now resident in America. The wages paid to James Boothroyd, for example, in Illinois, must have struck any labourer hearing the news with amazement, as well as providing ample incentive to the man contemplating removal abroad. Boothroyd, with his family, emigrated from Worksop in the spring of 1849, and from June until Christmas that year worked as a hired hand at the equivalent of 2s.7d. a day (and board), with 5s.2d. a day at harvest. During the winter of 1849-50, he cut cord-wood at 5s.2d. a day, and later became a carpenter in the production of frame-houses at 4s.2d. a day with board:

"You will observe", he wrote, "...the working man gets much better paid than in England, and his money will go much further, and the farmer can make plenty of money for himself. You may have 100 acres of ploughing land and 50 acres of timber land for from £350 to £450, and on a farm like this a man can hardly fail to do well....".

1. Doncaster Gazette, 8 Jul. 1853.

But what was even more important:

"A man who lives upon and cultivates his own land in this country is a freeman; he can be in politics or religion what he himself thinks best, without the control or dictation of anyone.... There is a striking contrast between him and the tenant farmer in England, who in many cases [has] to sacrifice all principle to an unjust landlord. If the tenant farmers and farm labourers could once have their eyes opened to their position, they would think they had been mad".^{1.}

Letters such as Boothroyd's undoubtedly helped many farmers and labourers thinking of emigration to reach their decision in favour of America.^{2.} For most the choice then lay between Hull and Liverpool as the port of embarkation.

1. James Boothroyd (nr. Jacksonville, Ill.) to James Harrison (timber merchant, Sheffield), 15 Dec. 1850 (copy of letter in Doncaster Gazette, 4 Apr. 1851). In cutting wood, Boothroyd was paid at 2s.7d. a cord (=8' long x 4' wide x 4' high), and he was able to achieve two cords a day. The eldest son of Wm. Boothroyd, woodman, of Worksop, James continued to live in the Jacksonville area until his death, 29th February, 1860, aged 36 (Doncaster Gazette, 13 Apr. 1860).
2. Examples of glowing reports from North America encouraging emigration from Lincs. and Notts. are noted in: Doncaster Gazette, 4 Apr., 31 May 1850, 31 Jan., 21 Mar. 1851, 12 Mar., 10 Dec. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 5 Mar. 1852.

Although substantial numbers of agricultural emigrants from East Yorkshire and the northern ports of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire continued to embark at Hull for North America in the 'fifties, the attractions of Liverpool became increasingly obvious to the intending passenger as the decade progressed. To reach the Mersey from these areas in the 1830's meant a protracted journey by canal, cart or on foot, whereas Hull could normally be reached with far less effort. The transatlantic crossing, though usually of shorter duration from Liverpool, was by sailing vessel from both ports.¹ In the 1840's the steady development of rail and steamship tipped the balance decidedly in favour of Liverpool, so much so by the early 'fifties that the end of Hull's participation in the North American emigration trade, based as it was on rural discontent and sailing ships, was clearly in sight.

Symptoms of Liverpool's slowly suffocating predominance may be recognised in several ways. Hull handled great numbers of European emigrants on their way to the United States, but these almost invariably chose to entrain for and embark at Liverpool. Even

1. The first Atlantic steamship service began in 1838.

many of those native-born who had lived and worked within a radius of forty miles of Hull, and for whom, two decades earlier, the port would have been a near-automatic choice for departure, were now making their way in relative comfort to Liverpool, assured thereafter of a reasonably rapid crossing by steam.

Liverpool's shipping companies touted more and more frequently for custom through their agents in the East Riding, even in Hull itself. In 1850, R.J. Cortis, of Hull, advertised for emigrants to sail for New York from Liverpool by the "English, German and American Union Emigration Company, in connection with Mr. John Taylor Crook's 'Black Star' Line of Packet Ships". Included in the total passage money from the Mersey was the expense of the rail journey between Hull and Liverpool, with board and lodging at the latter in "a large and commodious hotel".¹ When Cortis advertised in later years for passengers to cross to Liverpool for New York, New Orleans and Quebec, overall cost included the rail journey from Hull, accommodation at the Liverpool Emigrants' Home, under the superintendence of H.M. Commissioners, and "all other charges".²

1. Hull Advertiser, 17 May 1850; E.C.H., 25 Jul. 1850.

2. Hull Advertiser, 12 Sep. 1851; E.C.H., 22 Jan. to 4 Mar. 1852. Cortis's Hull address was noted variously as No. 1 Scale Lane, the Minerva Hotel and Wellington Street.

At Holme upon Spalding Moor, near Market Weighton, H. Hudson, the postmaster and druggist, was appointed agent in 1851 for Tapscott & Co.'s Line plying the North American route from Liverpool.¹ In 1856, Henry Hare & Co., of 70 Humber Street, Hull, "Authorised Emigration Agents for the Protection of Passengers", received a testimonial signed by Thomas Pidd and Henry Cammage on behalf of some fifty emigrants who, after setting out from the neighbourhood of Flamborough, had benefited from the highly satisfactory arrangements at Liverpool for their passage to Quebec.² The following year, the same firm by way of advertisement published a letter signed by John and Sarah Wood, of Filey, and John Joyce (or Jowsey) and Dixon White, of Hunmanby: the passengers had been met at Liverpool and placed in "excellent accommodation" aboard the steamer, Canadian for Quebec.³ A similar letter to Henry Hare & Co. in 1858 was signed on behalf of about twenty-five East Riding passengers by Richard Field (of Beverley), Thomas Wilkinson and family, and George Wilkinson (of Hull), Raywood Bott and family, Thos. Coatom, Edmund Robinson,

1. Hull Advertiser, 11, 18, 25 Apr. 1851.

2. Hull F.P., 14 Jun. 1856.

3. Hull News, 23 May 1857; Hull Advertiser, 30 May 1857. Henry Hare & Co., also advertised sailing dates from Liverpool to New York and Quebec. Passengers could be booked from Hull "free of expense".

and Mrs. Windross and family (of Flamborough). All had stayed at the Emigrants' Home in Liverpool before embarking on the "beautiful large ship", Joseph Thompson, for New York.^{1.}

Hull mercantile interests were not, of course, unaware of the attractions of Liverpool as a port of commerce and emigration. In the early 'fifties, Hull merchants and traders realised the necessity for adopting a "spirit of enterprise and forward movement" if their port were to maintain a worthy position in the commercial race. To this end a project was submitted and approved in August, 1852, to establish a line of screw steamships between Hull and New York. A company with a capital of £100,000 was proposed: the Hull and New York General Steam Navigation Company. Two or three large iron screw steamers of about 1,000 tons reg. were to be employed, each able to carry 500 tons of freight and 200 passengers between decks, with a round-house for a further 50 to 100 on deck.^{2.}

1. E.C.H., 27 May 1858.

2. The first iron ship had crossed the Atlantic in 1845.

One press editorial attempted to forestall possible objections to the scheme. Hull, it might be argued yet again, was on the 'wrong' side of the country for trade with North America: Liverpool, Bristol and other western ports were "natural embouchures" for western traffic, whereas Hull's natural outlet was the Baltic. This fact might have been granted, the argument continued, in the days before steam, when, under adverse conditions, a sailing vessel might and often did take weeks or months to circum-navigate the island.¹ But by 1852, the steamships of Liverpool, Bristol and London were plying indiscriminately east and west, and there was no reason why Hull steamers should not do the same. Hull would reap many advantages by their introduction. In the port and its immediate vicinity, large paint and oil factories were especially important as the source of an extensive export trade; and turpentine works would attract a valuable share of the raw materials for return cargoes. The port and its hinterland represented a large, easily accessible market for American breadstuffs, provisions and other produce.

1. A.C. O'Dell and Kenneth Walton, The Highlands and Islands of Scotland (London; Edinburgh, 1962), p.203, cite the case, in 1801, of two vessels which left Newcastle on the same day, one bound for Bombay via the English Channel, the other for Liverpool via the Pentland Firth. The Bombay vessel arrived first, since the latter was held up by adverse winds in Orkney. At the same time, it was reckoned that the average time for a voyage from Peterhead to the North Channel was fourteen days, but that it might be sixty to ninety, or only five!

At convenient seasons, communication with New Orleans and Charleston would ensure "that back freights of material for our cotton mills may be obtained". The introduction of steamships sailing from Hull would enhance the already established facilities of rail transit to the port, and would induce the hardware-makers of Sheffield, the pottery-workers of Yorkshire and Staffordshire, and by implication the textile manufacturers of the West Riding to export their produce to America by way of the Humber. Lastly, a high proportion of the many emigrants leaving Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire would prefer to embark at Hull rather than Liverpool, just as would hundreds of German passengers.^{1.}

Hopes of establishing a line of steamships between Hull and New York at first ran high. The project was to be placed before the public in a more detailed form "in order to secure a trade with America at present limited for want of efficient means of transit". Offers of assistance in forming the company were freely made. Exporters indicated they would support the line rather than forward most of their linseed oil by way of London as hitherto. The approximate figure

1. Hull News, 28 Aug. 1852; Yorkshire Gazette, 4 Sep. 1852.

of 15,000 German emigrants passing through Hull to Liverpool in that year (to September) was noted. Even so, there were hints of restraint: trade by such a line should be initiated on only a moderate scale, and the attempt made with two rather than three screw ships of 1,000 tons each.^{1.}

The reason why the line was not in fact established can only be based on supposition in the lack of further evidence. The most likely reason was that the early flush of enthusiasm for the project waned in the face of hard, logical fact: that profit on capital - assuming this was available - could not be assured. The extra fuel required for the longer haul from Hull to North America compared unfavourably with that consumed on a voyage from Liverpool; and therefore profit margins would be reduced, perhaps to insignificance. Moreover, Hull's introduction of two steamships would be a pitifully small challenge to Liverpool's departures and could hardly be expected to draw off a substantial portion of either industrial exports from northern England or emigrants in transit from the Continent.

The pre-eminence of Liverpool, however, continued to rankle in Hull minds. The question, "Why should Hull not become an emigration port as well as Liverpool, Southampton, or Glasgow?", was again asked

1. Hull News, 25 Sep. 1852.

by press editorials in 1853. Hull could surely intercept a proportion of the Continental emigrants, expected that year to be over 20,000 as they made their way to Liverpool. Even if it were impossible to offer sufficient inducements for these passengers to forgo a transatlantic steam passage from the Mersey, why was it not possible to introduce a regular fleet of Australian packets from Hull? On the outward voyage, goods and emigrants would be carried, and on the inward, bales of wool for West Riding factories. The location of the British port was of no matter when the overall distance to the Antipodes was considered. If Glasgow had thirty-three vessels in the Clyde loading for Australia, as was reported, Hull could surely be encouraged to follow suit. In Bristol's case, prior to 1852, only one or two vessels a year had carried emigrants, but in that year thirteen emigrant vessels of large tonnage had sailed for Australia, fourteen for New York, one for Quebec and one for Prince Edward Island.¹ Press encouragement had little effect: although individual vessels did leave Hull for Australia in the period, nothing approaching an established line of sailing vessels was introduced.

1. E.C.H., 31 Mar. 1853; Hull News, 2 Apr. 1853. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table IV), notes that 125 persons arrived at Quebec from Bristol in 1852, compared with 1,032 from Hull.

The last plaintive cry for transatlantic steamships from Hull was heard in 1856. Liverpool had earlier gained the advantage of a line of Canadian steamers, and a similar line was planned to sail between London and Montreal, with the first departure on the 23rd July. The appeal, "Why do not our [Hull] merchants try something of the kind?", even if possible to implement, came too late. Its corollary, "Their sailing ships will be beaten out of the field if they do not take heed", was borne out by the end of the 1850's when Hull's emigrant trade with the St. Lawrence ceased.¹

Transatlantic sailings from Hull in 1850, in keeping with renewed rural emigration, rose appreciably over those of the previous year, from ten to seventeen. Although departures for the St. Lawrence actually fell from six to five, and none occurred for the Maritimes, those for the United States

1. Hull Advertiser, 5 Jul. 1856.

rose from two to twelve.¹ From available information, the exact number of emigrants leaving by the port of Hull in 1850 is uncertain. "Though comparatively few of the many leaving our district ship at Hull", one report ran, "... more emigrants have left Hull, direct for their intended destination, this spring than for many previous years".² Nor was "the precise number of berths taken in the American traders" available.³ It seems likely, however, that after the 592 emigrants reaching Quebec from Hull in 1849, about the same number followed suit in 1850.⁴

1. For Quebec: Prince Regent, Fergus, Meteor, Minstrel, Dominica. The Sir Edward Hamilton (Robt. Lundy) was advertised first to sail for New York in early April, then for Quebec in early May, but no further press information is available (Hull Advertiser, 1, 8 Mar. 1850). For New York: Rimswell, Harlequin, Ross, Allen Brown, Seringapatam, Sisters, Delia Maria, T. & P. Woodward, Medora. The Io and Der Freihandel were also advertised for New York, but did not apparently sail (Ibid., 22 Feb. to 15 Mar., 19 Apr. 1850). For Savannah: Royal Victoria. For Charleston: Queen Victoria, Tamarac; the Pallas, though advertised, did not sail (Ibid., 5 Apr. 1850). More than 220 emigrants, accompanied by agricultural implements, carts, waggons, machinery, also left Hull on the Haidee for Port Natal (Ibid., 10, 17 May 1850): one passenger, William Grainger, a farm servant from Brandsby, near York, was robbed of £9 by a confidence trick in Hull before sailing.
2. Halifax Guardian, 16 Feb. 1850; Hull Advertiser, 10 May 1850.
3. Hull Advertiser, 29 Mar. 1850.
4. No figures for the years, 1850-51, are listed in Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V).

But a substantial increase undoubtedly occurred in those passengers leaving the Humber for New York: almost every vessel for that destination is noted as carrying a complement.

All three vessels sailing for Quebec in April carried passengers, mainly labourers from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The Prince Regent (Capt. Rd. H. Martin) left the Junction Dock on the 10th, reaching Grosse Island after a quick passage of thirty-six days and Quebec on the 23rd May.^{1.} The Fergus (Capt. Wharton) sailed on the 11th April by the southern route and arrived off the Isle of Wight on the 19th; Quebec was reached on May 21st, two days before the Prince Regent.^{2.} Following the same route, the Meteor (Capt. Daniel Brown) was hauled out of the Old Dock, opposite Lowgate End, about the 29th April, arrived at Deal on the 12th May and was off Portland Bill on the 14th, before proceeding across the Atlantic.^{3.}

1. Hull Advertiser, 8, 15, 22 Mar., 12 Apr., 7, 14 Jun. 1850.
2. Ibid., 12, 19, 26 Apr., 14 Jun. 1850. The Fergus was advertised to sail again for Quebec in mid-August, but left instead for Kronstadt on September 13th (E.C.H., 25 Jul., 19 Sep. 1850).
3. Hull Advertiser, 15 Mar. to 5 Apr., 17, 24 May 1850.

Weighing anchor in the Junction Dock on the 15th May, the Minstrel (Capt. Edmund Jenkinson) was sighted with her complement of emigrants on the 23rd June in lat. $45^{\circ}18'$, long. $45^{\circ}25'$ and reached her destination on July 19th.¹ The only Quebec-bound vessel not confirmed as carrying passengers was the Dominica (Capt. Murphy) which set out with a cargo of coals on the 28th (?) July and passed Deal on the 29th.²

The year 1850 was more notable, however, for the greater interest shown by rural emigrants in the United States than in Canada. Nine Hull sailings took place for New York - the highest number since 1839 - and of these only one late-September departure failed to confirm passengers. The Rimswell (Capt. John Hawkins) left on the 4th March and reached New York on May 26th: the vessel's protracted voyage was the result of her encountering heavy weather which caused the loss of part of her bulwark

1. Hull Advertiser, 19, 26 Apr., 3, 17 May, 26 Jul., 9 Aug. 1850.
2. E.C.H., 18, 25 Jul., 1 Aug. 1850; Hull Advertiser, 2 Aug. 1850.

and the starting of a few water casks, damage which was repaired at Cromarty.^{1.} The clipper brig Harlequin (Capt. Matthew Brown) and barque Ross (Capt. John Brown), filled chiefly with agricultural labourers, followed in rapid succession on the 9th and 12th April, and arrived at New York on May 20th and 22nd.^{2.}

Two further vessels left during May. The barque Allen Brown (Capt. Jonathan Harris) sailed with emigrants in the early part of the month and reached New York on the 9th July.^{3.} The Seringapatam (Capt. Joseph Peckit), also with goods and passengers, sailed on the 18th May, was seen off Deal on the 23rd, Brighton, Start Point on the 28th, and arrived at New York on July 13th.^{4.} The Sisters

1. Hull Advertiser, 15, 22 Feb., 8, 29 Mar., 14 Jun. 1850. Rumour reported the total loss of the Rimswell.
2. Ibid., 1 Mar. to 19 Apr., 7 Jun. 1850.
3. Ibid., 19, 26 Apr., 3 May, 2 Aug. 1850.
4. Ibid., 19, 26 Apr., 3, 24, 31 May, 7 Jun., 2 Aug. 1850. The Seringapatam was built by Messrs. Humphrey & Co., of Hull, and launched from their shipyard at South End on January 29th, 1842. The vessel, classed A1 at Lloyd's for twelve years, was the property of Egginton, John Beadle & Co., in 1842, and was still advertised in 1850 by G. & J. Egginton & Sons, 8, North Walls. The Seringapatam was of the following dimensions: length, 111'1"; breadth, 26'6½"; depth of hold, 18'3"; and admeasured 434 tons; she also possessed a half-poop and "good height between decks". The vessel was originally intended for the China trade and was only first advertised for North America in 1850; Peckit took over command at the vessel's launching (Ibid., 4 Feb. 1842).

(Capt. Thos. Marshall) left Hull on the 18th June and was off Staxigo, near Wick, by the 21st: spoken with on the 5th July in lat. $50^{\circ}6'N.$, the vessel reached New York on the 10th August.^{1.} The last three departures of the year were all described as "American packet-ships". The Delia Maria (Capt. J.H. Burleigh) set out on the 17th August and arrived the 23rd September.^{2.} The T. & F. Woodward (Capt. Geo. W. Chapman) left Hull on the 4th September, passed Deal on the 7th and reached New York on the 15th October.^{3.} Lastly, the Medora (Capt. Jesse Ames), the only vessel of 1850 bound for New York from the Humber which did not apparently carry passengers, sailed on the 26th September, passed Deal on the 30th, and

1. Hull Advertiser, 24, 31 May, 7, 21 Jun., 5, 19 Jul., 30 Aug. 1850.
2. E.C.H., 18 Jul. to 8, 22 Aug. 1850; Hull Advertiser, 11 Oct. 1850.
3. E.C.H., 15, 22 Aug., 12 Sep. 1850; Hull Advertiser, 13 Sep., 1 Nov. 1850.

arrived November 7th.^{1.}

Increased ship departures from Hull in 1851 reflected the substantial rural emigration taking place from north and south of the Humber. Although many from these areas embarked at Liverpool, total sailings from Hull increased from seventeen to twenty-one. Sailings for the St. Lawrence increased from five to nine, eleven occurred for the United States and one for the Maritimes.^{2.} Again, the exact number of emigrants embarking at Hull in 1851 is uncertain, but, based on the fact that only two (out of nine) departures for Canada and one (out of eight) for New York failed to confirm passengers, it seems possible to hazard a figure of 700-800 for Quebec and perhaps 500-600 for New York.^{3.}

1. E.C.H., 29 Aug. to 19 Sep., 3 Oct. 1850; Hull Advertiser, 4 Oct., 29 Nov. 1850.
2. For Quebec: Concord ("Montreal, direct"), Prince Regent, Fergus, China, Isabella, Meteor, John ("Montreal, direct"), Diana, Rolla. The Isabella was first advertised for New York, but sailed for Quebec. For New York: Sisters, Harlequin (two voyages), Ulverston, Ross, Thomas, Seringapatam, Foster; for Boston, Mass.: Kirkwood; for New Orleans: Tamarac. For the Maritimes: Venerable.
3. No figures for the years, 1850-51, are listed in Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V).

The Concord (Capt. S. Woodall), advertised for Montreal direct and offering accommodation to "Cabin Passengers only", sailed from Hull with a human complement towards the end of March and reached her destination on the 17th May.¹ Five vessels followed in rapid succession for the St. Lawrence in April: three certainly carried passengers. The Prince Regent (Capt. John Wharton) sailed from the Junction Dock, "with a great number of passengers", on the 5th, passed through the Pentland Firth on the 9th and arrived safely at Quebec on the 16th May.² The Fergus, after her voyages to Quebec and Kronstadt the previous year also sailed from the Junction Dock under her new commander, Capt. Lamplough, on the 10th April, and reached her destination on the 27th May.³ Noted as only carrying coals, the China (Capt. John Barker) left on the 12th April.⁴ The Isabella (Capt. R.H. Martin) and Meteor (Capt. Dan. Brown) both

1. E.C.H., 23 Jan. to 13 Feb., 6, 13, 20 Mar. 1851; Hull Advertiser, 6 Jun. 1851.
2. E.C.H., 6, 20 Feb. to 13 Mar., 10 Apr. 1851; Hull Advertiser, 4, 18 Apr., 6 Jun. 1851.
3. E.C.H., 16 Jan. to 27 Feb., 20 Mar., 17 Apr. 1851; Hull Advertiser, 4 Apr., 20 Jun. 1851. Capt. Wharton, formerly of the Fergus, had taken out the Prince Regent. Both vessels carried passengers.
4. E.C.H., 3, 17 Apr. 1851; Hull Advertiser, 4 Apr. 1851.

left their moorings in the Old Dock with passengers on the 17th April: the first passed Staxigo on the 20th, quitted Longhope the following day and reached Quebec on the 26th May, whilst the second arrived on the 4th June.¹ The seventh vessel for Canada, the brig John (Capt. John Caseley), offering cabin accommodation only, sailed for Montreal direct with goods on the 23rd April.² The last two vessels, both with passengers for Quebec, left in May. The Diana (Capt. Jas. Toogood) sailed on the 7th, was sighted on the 26th in lat. $52^{\circ}13'$, long. $23^{\circ}27'$, and on the 7th June in lat. $46^{\circ}42'$, long. $47^{\circ}22'$, before reaching Quebec safely on the 25th June.³ The Rolla (Capt. Geo. Taylor) set out on the 17th May, reached the Pentland Firth on the 22nd, and proceeded two days later with "a fair wind". Quebec was reached on the 16th July.⁴

1. E.C.H., 9, 16, 23 Jan. to 6, 20 Feb. to 10, 24 Apr. 1851;
Hull Advertiser, 4 Apr., 2 May, 20, 27 Jun. 1851.
2. E.C.H., 27 Mar. to 17 Apr., 1 May 1851;
Hull Advertiser, 4 Apr. 1851.
3. E.C.H., 20, 27 Mar., 10 Apr. to 1, 15 May, 17 Jul. 1851;
Hull Advertiser, 4 Apr., 6, 27 Jun. 1851.
4. E.C.H., 17 Apr. to 8, 22 May 1851;
Hull Advertiser, 30 May, 8 Aug. 1851.

One vessel sailed for the Maritimes in 1851. The Venerable (Capt. John Martin), though offering conveyance to "goods and passengers", set out from the Old Dock on the 1st March for Saint John, N.B., confirming only "goods".¹

Substantial numbers of rural emigrants continued to embark at Hull for New York. Out of eight sailings for that destination in 1851, spread over a longer period than those for the St. Lawrence, only one vessel failed to confirm passengers. The barque Sisters (Capt. Thos. Marshall), sailed with goods and passengers as early as the 2nd February, passed Falmouth and Land's End on the 14th, and reached New York on March 28th.² The second vessel out, the Harlequin (Capt. Matthew Brown), found it worthwhile to return later for another load of emigrants who did not leave Hull until mid-August. The brig sailed on the 5th March, was sighted on the 10th in lat.49°, long.6°, and on the 12th in lat.48°48', long.8°45', her "passengers all well", before reaching New York on April 21st or 22nd.³ On her second voyage, starting the

1. Hull Advertiser, 14 Feb., 7 Mar. 1851.
2. E.C.H., 19th Dec. 1850 to 16 Jan., 6 Feb. 1851; Hull Advertiser, 21 Feb., 18 Apr. 1851.
3. E.C.H., 21 Nov., 19 Dec. 1850, 2 Jan. to 20 Feb., 6 Mar., 8 May 1851; Hull Advertiser, 14, 21 Mar., 9 May 1851.

13th August and ending the 27th September, the Harlequin carried out "a full cargo of goods and 101 steerage passengers, chiefly from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire."¹. The Ulverston (Capt. Chas. Brodrick) sailed on the 19th March, probably with passengers, and reached the Hudson on April 30th.² Two vessels set out for New York in April. The barque Ross (Capt. John Brown) left on the 3rd April "with upwards of 150 passengers" on board and arrived on the 30th after a remarkably fast crossing.³ The brig Thomas (Capt. John Hebb, or Hibb(s)) sailed with passengers on the 17th and arrived safely.⁴ May witnessed two further departures.

1. E.C.H., 19 Jun., 3 to 31 Jul., 21 Aug., 16 Oct. 1851; Hull Advertiser, 15 Aug., 5 Sep., 10 Oct. 1851. The Harlequin was sighted on August 24th in lat. 58°42', long. 12°18'.
2. E.C.H., 20 Feb. to 13, 27 Mar., 1851; Hull Advertiser, 23 May 1851.
3. E.C.H., 19 Dec. 1850 to 2, 16, 30 Jan., 13, 20 Feb., 6 to 27 Mar., 10 Apr. 1851; Hull Advertiser, 4 Apr., 23 May, 1851.
4. E.C.H., 27 Feb. to 10, 24 Apr. 1851; Hull Advertiser, 20 Jun. 1851. In a letter addressed to Messrs. Nell and Lambert, Quay Street, Hull, Charles H. Webb, superintendent of the Bristol protective emigrant board of the St. George's Society, New York, expressed the Society's pleasure at "the satisfactory manner in which the passengers by the brig Thomas, from Hull, arrived at New York". Arrangements between the shippers in Hull and the Society had proved successful in defeating the efforts of the New York "runners", the scourge of emigrants landing at that port.

The Seringapatam (Capt. Jos. Peckit) left on the 3rd or 4th with 104 steerage and 20 cabin passengers and reached New York on June 18th.¹ The Foster (Capt. Thos. Hunter) followed with more emigrants on the 24th May, reached Deal on the 30th and New York on the 19th July.²

The nineteen Hull departures for North America in 1852, though two fewer than in the previous year, continued to reflect the substantial exodus from the rural counties. Sailings from Hull for the St. Lawrence increased from the nine of 1851 to eleven, whereas those for the United States fell from eleven to eight, five of them for New York.³ At least six sailings for Quebec confirmed passengers, as did four for New York. But the most significant feature of the 1852 emigrant season was that no fewer than 1,032 persons arrived at Quebec from Hull, the greatest number since 1834. Moreover, although surpassed by those reaching Quebec from Liverpool (4,167) and Glasgow (3,554), emigrants from Hull still ranked fourth behind Plymouth (1,534) in all English and Scottish ports.⁴

1. E.C.H., 27 Feb. to 8 May, 3 Jul. 1851.

2. Ibid., 17 Apr., 1, 8, 15, 29 May 1851; Hull Advertiser, 6 Jun., 8 Aug. 1851.

3. For Quebec: Thetis ("Montreal, direct"), Isabella, Fingal, Prince Regent, Fergus, Rolla, Meteor, Indian, Diana, Emmeline, Everthorpe; for New York: Harlequin (two voyages), Ulverston, Ross, Lord Mulgrave; for Charleston, S.C.: Royal Victoria; for New Orleans: Tamarac, Queen Victoria.

4. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V).

Of the eleven vessels destined for Quebec in 1852, seven sailed before the end of April. Indeed, by mid-February the various Hull docks were the scene of great activity in the fitting out of ships bound for North America (and the Baltic), with many providing for passenger accommodation.^{1.} "The tide of emigration" which flowed was "unprecedentedly large" and consisted mainly of "the labour classes, interspersed with a few families possessed of small capital" from many parts of the East Riding, including Holderness, north Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire.^{2.} There is no certainty, however, that the brig Thetis (Capt. Thos. Royston), which probably left in the last days of March and passed Staxigo on the 5th April, carried emigrants.^{3.}

1. Hull Advertiser, 20 Feb. 1852.

2. Ibid., 16 Apr. 1852.

3. E.C.H., 8, 15 Jan., 26 Feb. to 18 Mar., 8 Jul. 1852; Hull News, 13 Mar. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 16 Apr. 1852. Although advertised for "Montreal, direct", the Thetis is noted as being at Quebec on the 12th June; it is possible that by that date the vessel had already visited Montreal.

In the case of all six April vessels, no doubt exists. The Isabella (Capt. Rd. Martin) of 1,000 tons, with eight feet between decks, sailed from the Old Dock on the 8th April, passed the South Foreland after thirty-five hours, and reached Quebec on the 8th May: the ship carried 247 passengers as well as one boy stowaway, aged twelve, who was taken on to Canada.¹ As each departure was announced, the surge of emigration seemed to increase, filling keels "with human beings and cargoes of oil, earthenware, &c."² The second passenger-ship of the year for Quebec, the Al, frigate-built Fingal, of 2,000 tons burthen, was the largest emigrant vessel ever to leave Hull: she also conveyed the greatest number of passengers ever to embark at the port on one occasion. Coppered and copper-fastened at Liverpool, the Fingal was eight feet between "well-ventilated" decks and possessed a large poop affording "superior accommodation" to thirty cabin passengers. The vessel, commanded by John Black, left Hull on the 12th April, passed Dover on the 16th, and reached Quebec on May 24th, with 334 passengers in steerage and poop cabins, mainly

1. E.C.H., 8 Jan., 12, 19 Feb., 15 Apr., 27 May 1852; Hull News, 13 Mar., 17 Apr. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 16 Apr., 28 May 1852.

2. Yorkshire Gazette, 17 Apr. 1852.

agriculturists from the three counties.^{1.} The Prince Regent (Capt. John Wharton) and Fergus (Capt. John Sykes) quickly followed on the 14th April: the latter, it was advertised, had over the years "conveyed more Passengers than any Vessel out of the Port, to their entire satisfaction".^{2.} The Prince Regent passed through the Pentland Firth on the 19th April with 70 or 77 emigrants, mostly farm labourers, and reached Quebec probably towards the end of May.^{3.} The Fergus sailed from Lowgate End with 56 passengers and arrived at her destination on May 24th.^{4.} Towards the end of April, Hull witnessed the departures of two more emigrant

1. E.C.H., 12 Feb. to 18 Mar., 15 Apr., 17 Jun. 1852; Hull News, 13 Mar., 17 Apr. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 16, 23 Apr. 1852. Each passenger on the Fingel, "according to the Government rules", was supplied with: 3 quarts of water daily, 2½ lb. bread or biscuit (at least equal in quality to Navy Biscuit), 1 lb. wheaten flour, 5 lb. oatmeal, 2 lb. rice, ½ lb. sugar, ½ lb. molasses and 2 oz. tea per week. Some of the passengers from Nottinghamshire were "influential families bound to Canada West where they have already purchased large tracts of land".
2. The Fergus had sailed at least once every year for Quebec since her first advertised passenger voyage in 1843.
3. E.C.H., 8 Jan., 12, 19 Feb., 25 Mar., 1, 22 Apr., 15 Jul. 1852; Hull News, 13 Mar., 17 Apr. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 16, 30 Apr. 1852. The Prince Regent was cleared at Quebec for the return voyage on June 23rd.
4. E.C.H., 15, 22 Jan., 12, 19 Feb., 11 Mar. to 1 Apr., 17 Jun., 22 Jul. 1852; Hull News, 13 Mar., 17 Apr. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 16 Apr. 1852. The Fergus was cleared at Quebec for Hull on June 26th.

vessels, both of which sailed by the southern route and reached Quebec on the same day, the 17th June. The Rolls (Capt. Geo Taylor) sailed from the Junction Dock with 66 passengers on the 24th April and passed Deal on the 28th,¹ whilst the Meteor with about 60 passengers left the Old Dock on the 26th and was off Folkestone two days later.²

So far in 1852 about 840 passengers had taken the opportunity of embarking at Hull. Assuming Quebec records to be exact and that no passengers were taken on en route, some 190 to 200 persons remained to sail. Hull provided two departures for Quebec during May, and although only one vessel, the Diana, actually confirmed a human complement, it is likely that both vessels participated. The Indian (Capt. Chas Davison) of 1,000 tons burthen, with steerage accommodation and eight feet between decks, sailed from the Junction Dock on the 18th May, was off Shoreham on the 24th, and reached Quebec on July 16th.³

1. E.C.H., 4, 18 Mar., 1, 15, 29 Apr., 8 Jul. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 16, 30 Apr., 7 May 1852; Hull News, 17 Apr. 1852.
2. E.C.H., 12, 19 Feb., 11, 18, 25 Mar., 8, 15, 29 Apr., 8 Jul. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 16, 30 Apr., 7 May 1852; Hull News, 17 Apr. 1852.
3. E.C.H., 12, 19 Feb., 25 Mar., 1 Apr. to 20 May 1852; Hull Advertiser, 16 Apr., 28 May, 6 Aug. 1852; Hull News, 17 Apr. 1852.

The barque Diana (Capt. Jas Toogood) left on the 19th May, was sighted on the 5th July in lat. 46° , long. 56° (Newfoundland Bank), thereafter taking nearly a month to reach Quebec on August 1st.^{1.}

The last sailings of the year for Quebec did not confirm passengers. The barque Emmeline (Capt. Paepflow), advertising accommodation for only fifteen persons, sailed about mid-June and was cleared at Quebec on the 1st September.^{2.} The Everthorne (Capt. R.C. Gleadow), offering "superior accommodation for a few Steerage and Cabin Passengers", left the Railway Dock on the 23rd July for Bremen; and by August 12th she was off Fair Isle, between the Orkneys and Shetlands, on her way to Quebec.^{3.}

Five departures occurred in 1852 for New York, all but one definitely concerning passengers. As in the previous year, the Harlequin (Capt. Matt. Brown), by setting out early, on the 11th March, was able to sail for the United States a second time with passengers at the beginning of August. On her first voyage which passed Beachy Head on the 13th March and ended on the 23rd April, the vessel's 66 passengers included 10 farmers and 45 labourers.^{4.} On the second, the vessel's

1. E.C.H., 1 Apr. to 13, 27 May 1852; Hull Advertiser, 16 Apr., 6, 27 Aug. 1852.
2. E.C.H., 3 Jun., 23 Sep. 1852.
3. Ibid., 1 Jul. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 30 Jul., 3 Sep. 1852.
4. E.C.H., 4, 25 Dec. 1851, 15 Jan., 5, 26 Feb., 18 Mar. 1852; Hull News, 13 Mar. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 19 Mar., 14 May 1852.

emigrant complement left on the 7th August, arriving at New York on September 21st.^{1.}

Two ships sailed on the 8th April. The Ulverston (Capt. Chas Brodrick), with 94 passengers, reached New York on the 17th May, and the Ross (Capt. J. Brown), with 150 passengers, on the 11th May.^{2.} Lastly, the Lord Mulgrave (Capt. Henry Cordingley), probably with some emigrants, left on the 3rd June and arrived at her destination on the 20th July.^{3.}

Emigration by the port of Hull suddenly and dramatically fell in 1853. In the East Riding, substantial emigration in the two preceding years, together with government plans for extensive drainage providing necessary employment, improved the labourer's lot at home. Annual servants found their services more readily in demand at better wages.^{4.} In many areas of north Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, agricultural emigration also resulted in gradually improving wages and general conditions.^{5.} Although such

1. E.C.H., 24 Jun. to 29 Jul., 12 Aug., 7 Oct. 1852.
2. Ibid., 4, 25 Dec. 1851, 15 Jan., 5, 26 Feb., 11 Mar. to 1, 15 Apr. 1852; Hull News, 13 Mar. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 16 Apr., 28 May, 4 Jun. 1852. The Ross sailed again from Shields in August: passing through the Pentland Firth on the 24th, she reached New York on the 28th September (Hull Advertiser, 3 Sep., 22 Oct. 1852).
3. E.C.H., 11 Mar. to 27 May, 10 Jun. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 6 Aug. 1852.
4. Yorkshire Gazette, 24 Apr. 1852; Hull News, 24 Apr., 27 Nov. 1852, 12, 26 Nov. 1853.
5. Doncaster Gazette, 12, 19 Mar. 1852, 21 Jan., 17 Jun., 8 Jul. 1853; Hull News, 27 Mar. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 23 Apr. 1852; E.C.H., 7 Apr. 1853.

improvements undoubtedly took some of the edge off rural discontent by 1853, the sharp fall in Quebec arrivals from Hull, from 1,032 (in 1852) to only 289, is not wholly explained in this way.^{1.} Indeed, the overall total sailing from English ports to Quebec rose from 9,276 in 1852 to 12,759 in 1853, an increase more than numerically accounted for by those leaving Liverpool (1852: 4,167; 1853: 9,679). Certainly fewer left the East Riding, north Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire in 1853, but of these probably a greater proportion chose to embark at Liverpool.^{2.}

In all, only seven vessels left Hull for North America in 1853 - three for Quebec and four for the United States - the lowest total since 1826.^{3.} Two of the three vessels for the St. Lawrence definitely carried passengers, as did two of the three for New York.

1. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V).
2. Ibid. That is not to say that Liverpool's increase was not mainly caused by other factors, such as industrial, and Irish and European transit emigration.
3. For Quebec: Fergus, Thomas ("Montreal, direct"), Prince Regent; for New York: Lord Mulgrave, Ross, Aurora (lost); for New Orleans: Indian. The Ulverston was also advertised for New York but did not apparently sail (E.C.H., 13 Jan. to 3 Feb. 1853).

The annually sailing Fergus (Capt. Hy. R. Kruger) left Hull with passengers on the 26th March, was off the Lizard by the 30th and was sighted in lat. 46° , long. 50° , on the 2nd May, before reaching Quebec on May 19th.¹ The following week, the Thomas (Capt. John Hibbs) set out for "Montreal, direct", without confirmed evidence of passengers: leaving Hull on the 2nd April, the vessel arrived at Quebec on June 3rd and Montreal on the 6th.² The third and last vessel, the Prince Regent (Capt. Rd. H. Martin) sailed with passengers from the Junction Dock on the 7th April, and reached her destination on the 28th May.³

Although only three vessels sailed from the Humber for New York, 1853 proved to be a fateful year. The Lord Mulgrave (Capt. Henry Cordingley), whilst advertised to sail from Hull during the first week of March, may well have been entered out on the Tyne on this occasion. Leaving Shields on March 22nd,

1. E.C.H., 20 Jan., 17 Feb. to 17, 31 Mar., 26 May, 9 Jun. 1853; Hull Advertiser, 8 Apr. 1853.
2. E.C.H., 13 Jan., 3, 17 Feb., 3, 10, 17 Mar., 7 Apr., 30 Jun., 4 Aug. 1853; Hull Advertiser, 8 Jul. 1853. The Thomas returned to Quebec from Montreal on July 9th.
3. E.C.H., 3, 10, 17 Mar., 14 Apr. 1853; Hull Advertiser, 17 Jun. 1853.

the vessel passed through the Pentland Firth on the 30th, and reached New York on the 10th May. No passengers are confirmed.¹ From New York, the Lord Mulgrave proceeded to Saint John, N.B., where, on the day of the barque's arrival, David Jones, the 57-year old second mate, a native of Hull, died in the Marine Hospital as a result of falling from the bow on to the beach of the ballast wharf. Capt. Cordingley, well known for many years on the North America run, and on this voyage accompanied by his wife and family, was also killed while the ship lay in the same port; for, as he was inspecting the hold, the vessel lurched and a barrel of pork fell on him.²

The Ross (Capt. John Brown), which left Hull on April 9th with 112 passengers, also had an eventful voyage. On May 13th, in lat. 46°, long. 50° (Newfoundland Bank), the vessel was involved in a collision in dense fog which carried away her mainchain, plates, mainsail and quarter-boat. The Ross arrived safely at New York, however, on the 31st May or 1st June.³

1. E.C.H., 13 Jan. to 3 Feb., 31 Mar., 7 Apr. 1853; Hull Advertiser, 27 May, 17 Jun. 1853.
2. E.C.H., 14, 21 Jul. 1853.
3. Ibid., 13 Jan. to 31 Mar., 14 Apr., 16 Jun. 1853. The number of passengers carried by the Ross is quoted in T.D. Leavens, South Brooklyn, to Editor, Hull Advertiser, 1 Jun. 1853 (Hull Advertiser, 17 Jun. 1853). The following passengers are named: from Hull - Barker, Deles, Gardam; from Aldbrough (in Holderness) - Mitchell. Leavens also noted the presence at New York of the Hull ships, Stentor, Lord Mulgrave, Corinthian, Ellergill and Everthorpe; but of these only the Lord Mulgrave had been advertised to sail from Hull that spring.

By far the most disastrous and tragic voyage in 1853 concerning a Hull vessel was that of the Aurora (Capt. Joshua Cherry), a barque of 484 tons reg., the property of Messrs. Brodrick, of the port. The master who survived the loss of his ship was able to report the tragedy in full; and although this was by no means an uncommon fate awaiting vessels bound for North America, it is worth recounting the events, not only as an example, but also because so very few vessels sailing from Hull encountered such disaster. The Aurora, having "undergone a thorough overhaul", left Hull for New York on the 26th April, carrying goods and a complement of 42 passengers and crew. Sailing southwards she passed Deal on the 28th, and was sighted on May 3rd in lat. 50° N., long. 12° W. Until May 6th, and in the approximate latitude of 47° , long. 39° , Capt. Cherry was favoured by good weather and fair winds.^{1.}

But from then until May 17th, the vessel was bearing into a strong westerly gale, and as a little more water than usual was being made, the pumps were carefully attended every two hours.

1. An independent sighting, however, of the Aurora on May 7th, by the Electra (Mine) from Grenada, gave the vessel's position as lat. $49^{\circ}24'$, long. $20^{\circ}43'$ (E.C.H., 26 May 1853).

On the 17th, the wind increased and sails were shortened; on the following day, with similar weather, the vessel's position at 4.00 p.m. was lat. $45^{\circ}52'$, long. $38^{\circ}26'$; and on the 19th, with increasing gales, the mainsail and jib were furled at 4.00 a.m. and the ship brought about tack to the northward. By early afternoon, the pumps were watched constantly when it was noted ominously that the ship was making a little more water; and by late afternoon, Capt. Cherry and the second mate discovered still more water in the hold, though not enough as yet to cause alarm. In the early evening, topsails were close-reefed with the Aurora labouring in the face of hard gales.

Matters now quickly took a turn for the worse. In the late evening, the mate found the pumps not drawing and water over the lowest tier of casks in the hold: the foresail was set to keep the barque before the wind and the pumps were manned by all hands. By midnight, however, the crew was fighting a losing battle. The leak increased, water was half-way up the second tier of casks, the passengers were summoned and all men put to the pumps. By 4.00 the following morning (20th May), despite incessant pumping, the ship was settling in the water, with the sea sweeping over her. Stanchions and bulwarks between the fore and main rigging were cut away to permit water to flow off the decks and for the launching of boats if

possible. The master ordered the cook to boil some pork and the crew to fill the water-breakers and obtain bread and other necessities for survival. Capt. Cherry's apprehension can be imagined when he climbed up to the mizen cross-trees to look out in the forlorn hope of assistance, "but to [his] dismay there was nothing but the vast expanse of ocean around, while under [him] was a sinking ship".

As some continued pumping, others tried to lower the skiff which was rendered useless when waves crashing over the ship lifted the tiny boat and dropped it heavily on to spars. Only the long-boat remained as a means of salvation. All the prepared stores were placed in this, and an attached warp was passed around part of the ship leaving enough slack for the long-boat to go astern when launched. Hauling up the foresail and making fast the helm, the crew then attended to the tackles and guys. The plan to put women and children into the long-boat before launching had to be abandoned when it was realised that the boat, already containing provisions, would be too heavy to manhandle overboard. The mate and cook, supplied with the master's sextant and with axe and adze to cut the guys on launching, were ordered into the boat.

The Aurora was settling fast. Cherry's intention was to pass the boat on the windward side, and if this could be done without damage, passengers and crew would then get into her. But his plans were frustrated. Just as the long-boat was ready for launching, a sea broke over her and stove in a plank. Though all seemed lost, with immense effort the boat was pushed overboard. Half a dozen or more hands equipped with buckets for baling out the water jumped into the boat. Blankets were put over the hole, the carpenter stood on them and the leak was reduced. By now the boat was drifting past, and the passengers, according to previous instructions and doubtless panic-stricken, rushed to quit the doomed vessel. But their attempt to evacuate was premature: first, the leak in the long boat had to be stopped. Moreover, the warp had to be released as the boat was held too close to the vessel's side, and a new line attached. The master found two old drawers, some copper and

nails to aid repairs to the boat; and although the boat was hauled near, everything but one drawer was lost. The second drawer and some spriggs reached the boat, followed by the master who, helped by the carpenter, frantically nailed pieces of board to the timber and stuffed blankets into the hole. After some success, the boat was hauled back towards the ship.

A phantasmagoria of events followed. The quarter-boat was lowered and two seamen and a passenger managed to get into her; but the rope holding this boat was too short to allow clearance of the ship, and it was slipped. The three men had only one oar and could not reach other oars thrown from the ship and long-boat. Meanwhile, nearing the ship, the master's long-boat increased her leak at the same time as a sea struck, filling her with even more water. The sudden jerk loosened the rope, setting the boat adrift: despite the use of oars, the boat was so full of water as to be completely unmanageable, and the master could reach neither barque nor quarter-boat. Rowing stopped and bailing recommenced.

Shortly afterwards, the Aurora sank at 8.40 a.m.
(May 20th) with 26 persons still on board.^{1.}

1. E.C.H., 31 Mar., 7, 28 Apr., 5, 19 May, 16 Jun. (for Capt. Cherry's report) 1853; Hull Advertiser, 6 May 1853. After nearly thirty hours, and suffering from exposure, Capt. Cherry and his companions in the long-boat were picked up by the Volusia (from Havanna to Greenwich) and later transferred to the Mellicite (from Savannah to Liverpool). The survivors reached Hull on the 9th June. Only one out of 24 passengers was known to have survived.

The Aurora's complement:

(a) Survivors

Capt. J. Cherry	<u>Crew</u>	<u>Passengers</u>
	Henry Appleby (mate)	William Feaster.
	William White (second mate)	
	Wm. Hopper (cook and seaman)	
	George Land (carpenter)	
	Thomas Hall)	
	Henry Pickering)	
	William Wardale (able seamen)	
	Robert Simpson)	
	James Anderson)	
	Henry D. Alcock (apprentice)	
	Samuel Taylor (ord. seaman)	

(b) Missing (in the quarter-boat)

Robert Hesk))(able seamen)	Charles Pawson
William Guest)		

(c) Lost (on Aurora)

William Scholey (steward)	John Barker, and wife
William M. Reed (apprentice)	Charles Bushby, and wife
—— Bachelor (sailmaker)	Charles Spinks, wife, 2 children
Richard Fletcher (ord. seaman)	George Drury, and wife
	Thomas Batley, and wife
	Jane Pawson (wife of missing Chas. Pawson)
	Mary Coomer
	George Hill
	Robert Poole
	William Carr
	Charles Siddle, wife, 3 children.

The Aurora disaster did not, however, deter emigrants from embarking at Hull the following year. Indeed, the total of 1,073 passengers arriving at Quebec from the port in 1854 was the highest for exactly twenty years; and ranked third in English ports after Liverpool (15,117) and Plymouth (2,701), and, including Scottish ports, sixth after Greenock (2,122), Glasgow (2,011) and Aberdeen (1,605).¹ Hull departures for North America in 1854 totalled nineteen, the same as in 1852; the numbers of emigrants reaching Quebec were also almost identical in the two years.² Nine sailings occurred for Quebec and one for the Maritimes, eight for New York and one for Boston, Mass.³

For the 27,000 or so emigrants from English and Scottish ports who disembarked at Quebec in 1854, Canadian prospects were bright. The extensive provincial railway system, involving great capital sums, apart from stimulating general prosperity, would ensure

1. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V). After 1854, Quebec passenger-arrivals from Hull fell away every year, until 1860 produced a nil return.
2. 1852: 1,032; 1854:1,073.
3. For Quebec: Thomas, Fergus, Prince Regent, Dauntless, Bravo, Meteor, Richard and Harriet, Blanch, Everthorpe; for Richibucto, N.B.: Elizabeth Holderness; for New York: Admiral Moorsom, Stentor, Ross (two voyages), Lord Mulgrave, Charles Cooper, Roxanna, Dorcas C. Yeaton; for Boston, Ulverston.

steady employment for labourers for many years. Any unskilled labourers, if able-bodied, would receive \$1.00 (or 4s.0d) a day; and this, it was assumed, must apply equally in agriculture for farmers to retain their workers. "Prospects...[were] of the most cheering description, and capitalists, merchants, mechanics, farm servants, and common labourers, [could] safely calculate on finding in Canada an abundant demand for skill, capital, and labour, to a profitable, as well as to an almost unlimited, extent".^{1.}

Moreover, emigrants disembarking at Quebec would receive far better treatment and greater protection, it was claimed, than those arriving at New York and elsewhere in the United States. Every passenger ship reaching the St. Lawrence was visited by the Emigrant Hospital medical officer at Grosse Island: if sickness were found on the vessel, emigrants remained at the hospital at government expense until well again. When a ship arrived at Quebec,

1. Extract from despatch, A.C. Buchanan, Quebec, to Commissioners of Emigration (reprinted in Yorkshire Gazette, 4 Feb. 1854; E.C.H., 9 Feb. 1854; Hull Advertiser, 10 Feb. 1854; Hull News, 11 Feb. 1854). During the summer, Buchanan noted that despite the large incursions of emigrants that year (at August 1st, 12,000 more than up to the same date in 1853), every Canadian province was complaining of the lack of labour: wages of up to 6s. or 7s. a day were being offered to harvest labourers (E.C.H., 7 Sep. 1854).

the government's agent for emigrants, A.C. Buchanan, boarded to advise, hear any complaints and ensure the master's compliance with Passenger Act provisions. To enable Buchanan to carry out this task efficiently, the emigration officer of the British port of departure forwarded by mail steamer to Quebec a duplicate copy of the emigrant vessel's passenger list which included names, ages, sex and trade. As the list was usually in Buchanan's hands two to three weeks before the passengers reached Quebec, he was prepared for their arrival and was in receipt of all personal details. If any complaint by a passenger were valid, he could commence legal proceedings against the master; but this, it was claimed, was very rarely necessary. Buchanan also had funds at hand to forward from Quebec destitute emigrants otherwise unable to locate themselves in areas of good employment. Emigrants from non-British ports received the same treatment.^{1.}

1. E.C.H., 9 Feb. 1854. It was observed that in 1853, Germans and Norwegians had accounted for about one-sixth of emigration to Canada.

In a year when nine vessels and over one thousand emigrants arrived at Quebec from Hull, it is remarkable that the carriage of passengers was confirmed in only four cases. It is probable, however, that other vessels also fulfilled this role. Six ships sailed from the Humber in April, 1854. The first two, the Thomas (Capt. John Hibbs) and Fergus (Capt. Henry R. Kruger; later, Capt. Edmonds, or Edmunds), sailed on the 5th April, both reaching Quebec on the 26th May. From her berth in the Old Dock, Whitefriargate Bridge, the barque Fergus, with 160 passengers, had followed the southern route, being off Shoreham by the 10th April.¹ On April 6th, two more vessels left for Quebec. The Dauntless (Capt. G.H. Broadhead; later, Capt. Toogood), advertising accommodation for "about TWENTY-FIVE Cabin and Steerage Passengers", reached Deal after two days, and Quebec by the 26th May. The Prince Regent (Capt. Richard H. Martin), setting out from the Junction Dock, arrived safely at Quebec with

1. E.C.H., 5, 19 Jan. to 9 Mar., 13 Apr., 15, 22 Jun. 1854; Hull Advertiser, 7 (Suppl.), 14 Apr. 1854; Hull News, 8 Apr. 1854. The Thomas sailed on to Montreal by May 30th.

passengers on May 27th.^{1.} The brig Bravo (Capt. Robt.C. Gleadow) offered space to "ten or twelve Best Cabin Passengers" before leaving Hull on April 11th: Quebec was reached on May 31st.^{2.} Two days after the Bravo the barque Meteor (Capt. Wm. Brown) sailed with passengers from the Old Dock, was sighted on April 22nd in lat.49°10', long.14°50', and arrived at Quebec on June 8th.^{3.}

Three vessels also sailed for the St. Lawrence in May, June and August. The Richard and Harriet (Capt. John Sykes), of 1,100 or 1,200 tons burthen, advertised "spacious Cabins, and being 8 feet betwixt decks,.....superior accommodation for Passengers". Sailing on the 17th May with a large complement of passengers, she was sighted on June 4th in lat.46°39', long.27°9', and reached Quebec on July 3rd.^{4.} On disembarking, the passengers of the Richard and Harriet

1. E.C.H., 5, 19 Jan. to 23 Feb., 16 Mar., 13 Apr., 15, 22 Jun., 10 Aug. 1854; Hull Advertiser, 7 (Suppl.), 14 Apr., 17 Jun. 1854; Hull News, 8 Apr. 1854. The Dauntless (Toogood) was cleared at Quebec for Hull on July 15th.
2. E.C.H., 23 Mar., 13 Apr. 1854; Hull Advertiser, 24 Jun. 1854.
3. E.C.H., 23 Mar. to 6, 20 Apr., 29 Jun. 1854; Hull Advertiser, 5 May 1854.
4. E.C.H., 12 Jan. to 16 Feb., 6 Apr. to 11, 25 May, 29 Jun., 27 Jul. 1854. Capt. John Sykes died at Quebec, aged 38, on August 5th: he was married with one child (Hull Advertiser, 26 Aug. 1854).

were accosted by rival agents of the various steamer lines offering further passage into Canada. The agents for Hooker, Jacques and Co.'s line indicated that the emigrants would be conveyed from Quebec to Hamilton direct by the Ontario steamer in the greatest comfort; whereas the agents of the mail line, in the guise of government officers, refuted this absolutely. As Mr. Evans, the agent of the former line was known by a number of the emigrants, his assertions were believed and indeed found to be correct on their sailing in this way. A few others using the main steamer, however, experienced poor accommodation and little comfort.^{1.} The Blanch (Capt. W. White), also of 1,200 tons burthen, sailed on the 7th June, arriving at Quebec the last day of the following month.^{2.} Lastly the Everthorpe (Capt. Geo. Harrison) left on August 18th, reaching the same destination on October 7th.^{3.}

Vessels bound for the St. Lawrence in the spring and early summer of 1854 seem to have encountered more

1. E.C.H., 17 Aug. 1854.

2. Hull Advertiser, 10 Jun., 26 Aug. 1854.

3. E.C.H., 27 Jul. to 24 Aug., 9 Nov. 1854.

then the usual number of icebergs in the latter part of their passage. The Prince Regent which made the round voyage safely from Hull was sighted on May 3rd in lat. 48° , long. 46° , the eastern margins of the Newfoundland Bank, "in the ice".¹ The Elizabeth Holderness (Capt. Pinchon) which, unadvertised, sailed with passengers on or about the 9th April, reaching Richibucto, N.B., after a forty-day passage, was the only vessel from Hull for the Maritimes in 1854. The vessel's voyage was uneventful until she reached ice off St. Paul Island in the Cabot Strait on May 6th. Discovering extensive ice across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and in heavy falls of snow and intense frost, the captain decided on the 9th to attempt the Canso passage at the south-eastern end of Prince Edward Island. This he achieved on the 15th, and though encountering still more ice in the Northumberland Strait, landed his passengers safely at Richibucto on May 18th.²

1. E.C.H., 15 Jun. 1854.

2. Hull News, 10 Jun. 1854.

Although eight sailings occurred at Hull for New York, and one for Boston in 1854, the passengers carried were probably small in number compared with those bound for Quebec. Significantly, only two vessels left during the spring emigration season, but five set out from September onwards. Whilst New York was harbouring several Hull ships by the end of May, not all of these had necessarily crossed from the Humber that spring: doubtless the scarcity of Hull departures was due in part to the fact that "there is not much doing here [N.Y.] for Hull, and I guess, therefore", wrote one correspondent, "that as freights are good at St. John's, Richibucto, and other timber ports, they will take a run thither".¹

The first vessel out of Hull, the Admiral Moorsom (Capt. Soulsby) left on the 25th January and arrived at New York on April 12th.² Ice proved the same hazard to vessels bound for New York as to those for Quebec. The correspondent who commented on New York trade also observed that "there have been a great number of disasters to emigrant vessels bound to New York this spring than has ever been known. Vast quantities of ice have been passed, and when off the banks of Newfoundland dense

1. "E.H.", New York, 27 May 1854 (extract in Hull Advertiser, 24 Jun. 1854).

2. E.C.H., 5, 12 Jan., 2 Feb., 4 May 1854.

fogs of three and four days' duration have caused many narrow escapes. The Ross of Hull has arrived here in safety".¹ The Ross (Capt. W. Silverwood) had left the Junction Dock, near the Monument, on the first of her two voyages of 1854, on the 6th April and reached New York on May 21st.² The vessel's second east-west crossing began on September 21st and ended on November 12th, with a sighting seven days out in lat. 49°32', long. 7°28'.³ Shortly before the Ross's first voyage began, the Stentor (Capt. Stephenson) was also hauled out of the Junction Dock, on the 3rd April, and sailed the following day for New York "with between twenty and thirty passengers", arriving May 24th.⁴

1. Hull Advertiser, 24 Jun. 1854.

2. E.C.H., 12 Jan. to 13 Apr. 1854; Hull News, 8 Apr. 1854; Hull Advertiser, 10, 24 Jun. 1854.

3. E.C.H., 17 Aug. to 14, 28 Sep., 12 Oct., 30 Nov. 1854.

4. Ibid., 19 Jan. to 23 Mar., 15 Jun. 1854; Hull Advertiser, 7 Apr. 1854; Hull News, 8 Apr. 1854. The Stentor's complement was the only stated total (albeit approximate) conveyed to N.Y. in 1854.

Apart from the Ross, four ships left Hull for New York in successive months from September onwards. The Lord Mulgrave (Capt. Thos. Ward) sailed on September 7th and arrived October 23rd.^{1.} The substantial "American packet", Charles Cooper (1,350 tons burth., Capt. Wm. Cutts), a "fine, fast-sailing Coppered Ship", which sailed from Hull on the 13th October, experienced rough weather on her crossing: the head of the mainmast was sprung, the maintopgallant yard, sail and everything attached was lost and bulwarks were damaged. New York was reached safely, however, on December 11th.^{2.} The Roxanna (Capt. Llewellyn Cooper), another "American packet" succeeding the Charles Cooper, set out on November 20th, was sighted on December 5th in lat.44°6', long.16°28', and arrived at her destination the third day of January.^{3.} Lastly, the "American Clipper", Dorcas C. Yeaton (Capt. Jabez Stevens), having just achieved her maiden voyage, left the Junction Dock on December 21st and reached New York safely, although on the 23rd January, stormy weather in lat.41°6', long.66°39', had carried away her maintopgallant mast, split her sails and destroyed her head-rails.^{4.}

1. E.C.H., 17 to 31 Aug., 14 Sep., 9 Nov. 1854.

2. Ibid., 21, 28 Sep., 5, 19 Oct. 1854, 4 Jan. 1855; Hull Advertiser, 7 Oct., 30 Dec. 1854.

3. E.C.H., 26 Oct., 2, 23 Nov. 1854, 25 Jan. 1855; Hull Advertiser, 6 Jan. 1855.

4. E.C.H., 23 Nov. to 14, 28 Dec. 1854, 22 Feb. 1855.

As in 1854, Quebec emigrant-arrivals from Hull in 1855 ranked third after Liverpool (5,337) and Plymouth (2,026), and, including Scottish ports, sixth after Glasgow (2,284), Aberdeen (1,422) and Greenock (621).^{1.} The 552 passengers noted as sailing from Hull in 1855, however, represented only about one-half the total of the previous year, as did the aggregate of vessels bound for North America.^{2.} Seven sailings occurred for Quebec and two for New York.^{3.}

Three ships left Hull for the St. Lawrence in April. The barque Fergus (Capt. Anthony Edmonds) was drawn out of the Junction Dock on the 4th and sailed the following day with a full complement of 209 passengers, including eight in cabins, mainly from the

1. Helen I. Cowan, pp.291-292 (Table 1V).
2. The total of 552 passengers arriving at Quebec is very similar to the 531 noted as leaving on six vessels from Hull, especially as the complements carried by three of these vessels are press approximations.
3. For Quebec: Fergus, Meteor, Marchioness of Queensberry, Prince Regent, Chance, Venerable, Don; for New York: Ross (two voyages). The St. Patrick (2,000 tons; Capt. Kinney) was advertised for Quebec in 1st July, and the E. C. Scranton (2,500 tons; Capt. Spencer) in late July and Henry Clay (1,800 tons) in late November, for New York, but none apparently sailed (E.C.H., 12, 19 Jul., 22 Nov. 1855).

rural neighbourhood of the port. Quebec was reached on May 18th; and the passengers on disembarking "testified their satisfaction" at a safe, healthy passage "by giving three hearty cheers for the ship and owners, and three more for the Captain".^{1.} The Meteor (Capt. Wm. Brown) sailed from the Queen's Dock with about 60 passengers on the 21st April, was off Plymouth three days later, and arrived at Quebec on June 10th.^{2.} Setting out from the Prince's Dock, near the Monument, on the 30th April, with 102 emigrants, the Marchioness of Queensberry (1,200 tons burth.; Capt. H.W. Brodrick) was sighted two days out and, on May 11th, in lat.49°, long.18°, before reaching her destination safely on June 16th.^{3.}

About 160 embarked on two vessels for Quebec in May. On the 2nd, the Prince Regent (Capt. Richard Martin) left the Queen's Dock with about 50 passengers, and, sailing via

1. E.C.H., 25 Jan., to 15 Mar., 12 Apr., 7 Jun.1855; Hull Advertiser, 7 Apr., 9 Jun. 1855; Hull News, 7 Apr., 9 Jun. 1855; Hull F.P., 9 Jun.1855.
2. E.C.H., 22 Mar. to 12, 26 Apr., 3 May, 5 Jul.1855; Hull Advertiser, 7 Apr. 1855; Hull News, 7,21 Apr.1855.
3. E.C.H., 22 Mar. to 3, 24 May, 5 Jul.1855; Hull News, 7,21 Apr.1855; Hull Advertiser, 5, 12 May, 28 Jul.1855. There was no advertised sailing for the Marchioness of Queensberry from Hull in 1856. However, the vessel sailing from Quebec in early July,1856, for Hull, was stranded on the western end of Bic Island, and could not be refloated at first. In late September, she was towed back to Quebec, but surveyors reported "that her repairs would cost considerably more than her value when repaired" (E.C.H., 24 Jul., 25 Sep., 30 Oct.1856).

Plymouth, arrived at Quebec on June 25th.^{1.}
Before the Goole barque Chance (Capt. H.E. Illingworth) left Hull with 101 emigrants, including seven cabin passengers, on Saturday evening, May 19th, a sermon was preached by the Rev. George Dickenson to the emigrants, relatives and friends; and - a nice touch - Capt. Illingworth provided seats for the ladies on the quarter-deck. Leaving a large number of well-wishers on the quayside, the Chance sailed by the southern route, passed Deal on the 24th, and was sighted four days later about forty miles south-west of the Lizard. Quebec was reached safely on July 19th.^{2.}

With the sailing of the Chance, it is clear that very few emigrants were still to be conveyed from Hull to Canada that year. The Venerable (Capt.

1. E.C.H., 22 Mar. to 26 Apr., 10 May, 12 Jul. 1855; Hull Advertiser, 5 May, 2 Jun. 1855.
2. E.C.H., 22 Mar. to 12 Apr., 24 May, 7 Jun., 9 Aug. 1855; Hull News, 21 Apr., 26 May 1855; Hull Advertiser, 26 May, 2 Jun. 1855. On her return voyage from Quebec to Sunderland, the Chance landed passengers at Dover about the 15th - 20th September (Hull Advertiser, 22 Sep. 1855).

Wm. Allen), leaving on July 12th and arriving September 8th, carried "only eight or nine passengers".^{1.} Lastly, there is no evidence of passengers aboard the South Shields barque Don (Capt. John Storey), which sailed on August 17th and did not reach Quebec until October 24th.^{2.}

Only two voyages were undertaken to New York in 1855, both by the Ross (Capt. Walter Silverwood) from the Prince's Dock (near the Monument). On the first occasion the vessel sailed with 120 passengers on the 18th April, passed through the Pentland Firth four days later, and reached New York on June 7th or 8th. During the voyage smallpox had made its appearance and, though the sick were tended on shore, the ship was held in quarantine for some days to ensure that no

1. E.C.H., 28 Jun., 5, 19 Jul., 27 Sep. 1855;
Hull F.P., 14 Jul. 1855.
2. E.C.H., 26 Jul., 9, 23 Aug., 15 Nov. 1855;
Hull Advertiser, 8 Sep. 1855. The reason for the Don's protracted voyage lay in the fact that Capt. Storey was obliged to put into Stromness on August 24th because eight crew members refused duty: by their action, several sails had been lost and a boat's crew from Caithness had had to be engaged to sail her to Stromness.

more cases of the disease occurred.¹ The Ross's second voyage from Hull - without record of passengers - appears to have been uneventful, starting on October 17th and ending December 22nd.²

Hull's importance as a transatlantic emigration port continued to decline in 1856, both in recorded departures and passengers carried. Only five sailings occurred for Quebec and one for New York.³ The aggregate of passengers conveyed to Quebec also fell by over two hundred from the 1855 figure of 552. Out of the 11,421 passengers arriving at Quebec from English ports in 1856, 7,805 sailed from Liverpool, 1,673 from Plymouth, 697 from London, 375 (exceptionally) from Portsmouth, and 346 from Hull.

1. E.C.H., 15 Mar. to 12, 26 Apr., 3 May, 28 Jun., 26 Jul. 1855; Hull News, 21 Apr., 30 Jun., 28 Jul. 1855; Hull Advertiser, 30 Jun., 28 Jul. 1855; Hull F.P., 30 Jun. 1855. The number of passengers suffering from small pox is not recorded, nor whether deaths ensued. It is possible, however, that smallpox caused the death of Capt. Silverwood's infant daughter, Louisa, on July 4th in New York. (The captain's family also probably sailed on the Ross and were not normally resident in N.Y.).
2. E.C.H., 4, 11, 25 Oct. 1855, 10 Jan. 1856.
3. For Quebec: Thomas (also Montreal), Meteor, Fergus (two voyages), Standerings; for New York: Chance. The Gaston, an "Al American Clipper Ship" was also advertised once in September to leave for Charleston, S.C., but apparently failed to sail (Ibid., 4 Sep. 1856).

The Humber port therefore ranked fifth in English ports, and, including the Scottish ports of Glasgow (1,305), Aberdeen (845) and Greenock (358), eighth, two places lower in each case than the previous year.^{1.}

Only two of the five departures for Quebec confirmed the carriage of passengers; but the approximate figure of 336 noted as leaving Hull is very similar to the 346 recorded as reaching Quebec. The brig Thomas (Capt. John Hibbs) sailed direct for Montreal on the 29th March.^{2.} The first vessel to carry emigrants, however, was the Meteor (Capt. Wm. Brown) which left the Prince's Dock on April 4th with 156 passengers - "chiefly of the agricultural class, from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire" - and reached Quebec on June 1st.^{3.}

1. Helen I. Cowan, pp.291-92 (Table 1V).

2. E.C.H., 31 Jan., 3 Apr. 1856.

3. Ibid., 7 Feb. to 20 Mar., 10 Apr., 19 Jun. 1856; Hull News, 5 Apr. 1856; Hull Advertiser, 5 Apr. 1856.

After being "in Messrs. Humphrey's Graving Dock, undergoing extensive repairs", the Fergus followed the Meteor out of the Prince's Dock on the 6th April. On this first of her two 1856 crossings, the Fergus (Capt. Anthony Edmonds) conveyed about 180 passengers and reached Quebec on the 20th May.¹ Her second departure from Hull was on August 21st, but on this occasion it is unlikely that emigrants were taken.² Lastly, the barque Standerings (Capt. Richards) sailed on the 23rd April, probably without passengers, was sighted on May 11th in lat.41°, long.23°, and arrived on July 2nd at Quebec.³

The only vessel for New York, the Chance (of Goole) left the Victoria Dock, Hull, on the 25th March, passed through the Pentland Firth on the 1st April and was sighted on May 12th in lat.40°40', long.69°16'. There is no evidence of passengers accommodated on this vessel.⁴

1. E.C.H., 31 Jan. to 20 Mar. 1856; Hull Advertiser, 5, 12 Apr., 7 Jun. 1856; Hull News, 5 Apr. 1856.
2. E.C.H., 3, 24 Jul., 7, 28 Aug. 1856.
3. E.C.H., 7 Feb., 1 May, 26 Jun., 24 Jul. 1856; Hull Advertiser, 26 Jul. 1856.
4. E.C.H., 6, 27 Mar. 1856; Hull Advertiser, 12 Apr., 31 May 1856.

Transatlantic departures from Hull declined still further in 1857 to only four: three vessels sailed for Quebec and one for New York.¹ In a year when no fewer than 15,304 passengers - an increase of nearly 4,000 over the 1856 total - arrived at Quebec from English ports, Hull's share remained static, whilst Liverpool's outgoings increased from 7,805 to 9,855. Hull ranked fifth in English ports after Liverpool, Plymouth (2,805), London (1,763) and Bristol (exceptionally, 358), and, including Scottish ports, seventh behind Glasgow (1,719), and Aberdeen (905).² The figure of 333 arrivals from Hull officially noted at Quebec in 1857 is very similar to the 323-334 compiled from various Hull press reports.³

1. For Quebec: Meteor, Fergus, Lord Mulgrave; for New York: Elida.
2. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V).
3. Hull Advertiser, 11 Apr.1857, notes that the Fergus carried "besides a crew of about 20, which includes master and officers, 147 steerage and cabin passengers. The 147 statute passengers includes 118 adults, that is to say persons above the age of 10 years; under that age two are counted as one, so that the total number of souls on board will be very close upon 200". In the Hull total of 323, however, the Fergus's passengers have been included as 148.

All three vessels bound for Quebec in 1857 left Hull in the two days, April 8th-9th, and reached their destination, May 26th-27th. The first, the Meteor (Capt. Wm. Brown), sailed with 124 passengers - or "120 statute passengers from various parts of Holderness" - and passed through the Pentland Firth on the 13th April.^{1.} The Lord Mulgrave (Capt. Thos. Ward) left with 55 or "about 60 passengers" on board from Lincolnshire.^{2.} In advertising the spring sailing of "the favourite ship and regular trader", Fergus, William W. Brown, of No. 31, Scale Lane, Hull, took the opportunity of quoting the colonial press about the great shortage of domestic servants in Canada. In the event, when the Fergus (Capt. Edmonds) sailed on the 9th April, her 148 (including one cabin) or 150 passengers were for the most part "healthy young men and women, married or marriageable.... farm labourers or country tradesmen" from villages on or at the foot of the Yorkshire Wolds.^{3.}

1. Hull Advertiser, 11, 18, 25 Apr., 20 Jun. 1857; Hull News, 11 Apr. 1857.
2. Hull Advertiser, 7 Mar. to 18 Apr., 20 Jun. 1857; Hull News, 11 Apr. 1857. The fare on the Lord Mulgrave was "£6 per head, including nearly all provisions".
3. Hull Advertiser, 18, 25 Apr., 20 Jun. 1857; Hull News, 14 Feb., 11 Apr. 1857. Brown's unsolicited support came from Toronto Times, 10 Jan. 1857. The Fergus passed Staxigo on Apr. 11th.

The only vessel to leave Hull for New York the "1st class Coppered Barque", Elida (Capt. F. Jachtmann), offered "superior accommodation for First and Second-cabin Passengers only, of which a limited number will be taken. Dietary scale very liberal". Sailing about early February, but without evidence of passengers, the vessel reached New York on April 8th.^{1.}

Despite seven vessels being laid on or advertised to sail from Hull to the St. Lawrence in 1858, and one for New York, "the number of passengers who "had, by early March", decided to leave home and country for another shore [was] by no means considerable".^{2.}

1. E.C.H., 18 Dec. 1856; Hull Advertiser, 2 May 1857.
2. E.C.H., 11 Mar. 1858. For Quebec: Glasgow, Thomas, Pioneer, Meteor, Fergus, Everthorpe. The Lord Mulgrave (Capt. Robt. Atkinson), "fitted with Cunningham's Patent Reefing Topsails", was advertised for Quebec, as was the Hanoverian brig, Johanne Brons (Capt. H.I. Bonman) for New York, but neither apparently sailed (Ibid., 7 Jan., 11 Feb. to 11 Mar. 1858). The Lord Mulgrave was wrecked on Brakeness Rocks, Orkney, in a storm on the 9th March, 1859, on a voyage from Shields to New York with coals: Capt. Atkinson was badly injured by the fall of the mainmast, and was washed away and drowned (Ibid., 24 Mar. (Suppl.) 1859).

Indeed, it was clearly perceived that Hull was rapidly losing its role as an emigration port: "during the past two or three years the number of emigrants has considerably decreased. Two years ago [1856], one of the vessels sailing from this port took out upwards of 150 and another about 180 emigrants".¹ In 1858, however, only 139 passengers in all were officially noted as arriving at Quebec from the port - compared with the approximation of 135 obtained from Hull press sources. Whilst Hull's share of the total Quebec emigration trade was now minute compared with Liverpool's, the port ranked fifth in English ports after Liverpool (5,078), Plymouth (538), London (301) and Bristol (181), and, including Scottish ports, eighth after Glasgow (1,022), Aberdeen (246) and Montrose (167).²

1. E.C.H., 15 Apr. 1858. The first vessel referred to was the Meteor, the second, the Fergus.

2. Helen I. Cowan, pp.291-92 (Table 1V).

The Glasgow (Capt. Holland) sailed first for Quebec, without passengers, on the 3rd April.^{1.} The brig Thomas (Capt. Henry Dixon) followed three days later, also probably without passengers, was off the North Foreland by the 12th, and reached Quebec and Montreal on May 17th and 26th.^{2.} In mid-April, three vessels - the Pioneer, Meteor and Fergus - left within the space of three days. Passage on the Pioneer (Capt. Wm. Chapman) was offered by the owners, John Torr and Co., No. 41 High Street, Hull, at £5.5s. and when the vessel left the Prince's Dock on April 15th or 16th, she carried "about 90 emigrants". From Deal on the 18th, the vessel proceeded on a fast passage to Quebec by the 15th May, her complement increased by two births. At Quebec, Capt. Chapman was presented with a silver salver and testimonial by Robert Bayles, cabin passenger, on behalf of the other passengers affirming the master's great care and attention to their needs on the voyage.^{3.}

1. E.C.H., 11 Mar., 8 Apr. 1858.

2. Ibid., 4 Feb. to 11 Mar., 8, 22 Apr., 10, 17 Jun. 1858; Hull News, 13 Mar. 1858.

3. E.C.H., 4 Feb. to 22 Apr., 3 Jun. 1858; Hull News, 13 Mar., 5 Jun. 1858; Hull Advertiser, 17, 24 Apr. 1858. The civility and humanity of Capt. Chapman and his crew towards their passengers was confirmed by James Walker, an agricultural labourer from Holderness. On reaching Toronto, Walker gained employment with a Mr. Branton (emigrated from Winestead in Holderness about 1850) at \$12.00 per month, with good house and garden, rent free (James Walker, Toronto, to E.R., 1 Jul. 1858: letter summarised in Hull News, 24 Jul. 1858).

Bethel services were held before the Meteor (Capt. W. Bailey) and Fergus (Capt. A. Edmonds) both left the Prince's Dock on Saturday, 17th April: the former reached Quebec on June 10th with 20 passengers, the latter three days later with 25.¹ Lastly, the barque Everthorpe (Capt. Geo. Harrison) sailed for Quebec, probably without passengers, on August 18th, arriving October 21st.²

The year 1859 proved to be the last in which emigrants embarked at Hull for North America direct.³ In addition, emigrant arrivals at Quebec were small in number, only 5,001 sailing from English ports, and 844, coincidentally, from both Scottish and Irish ports.

1. E.C.H., 7, 28 Jan. to 8, 22 Apr., 10 Jun., 1 Jul. 1858; Hull News, 13 Mar. 1858; Hull Advertiser, 17 Apr. 1858. From 25 March onwards, Harrison Bros. advertised for the Meteor, "FARES GREATLY REDUCED", doubtless a reflection of the scarcity of passengers. Passenger figures for the Fergus in the years, 1854-58, also indicate the scarcity in the last year : 160, 209, 180, 150, 25.
2. E.C.H., 5, 26 Aug., 11 Nov. 1858.
3. The Rimswell (Capt. J.C. Hawkins) was "guaranteed to sail" for Montreal in March, 1860, but there is no evidence of departure (Ibid., 5 Jan. to 9, 23 Feb. 1860).

Of the English ports, no fewer than 4,675 left by Liverpool, with Plymouth (166), London (85) and Hull (44) catering for all but 31 of the remainder. Hull's position of fourth in English ports - sixth, including the Scottish ports of Glasgow (627) and Aberdeen (133) - has little significance therefore, in a year of low emigration to Canada.^{1.}

Only two vessels sailed for Canada from Hull in 1859, and none for the United States.^{2.} The Thomas (Capt. Henry Dixon) left on the 28th March, and reached Quebec and Montreal on May 28th and 30th. Passengers were not indicated.^{3.} In an effort to attract custom, John Torr & Co. publicised the Pioneer's fast passage of twenty-eight days the previous year; and that there was "excellent accommodation for Cabin and Steerage Passengers, who [could] be booked through to any part of Canada or the United States for One Fare, which [would] be found a great saving and assistance to the emigrant".

1. Helen I. Cowan, pp.291-93 (Table 1V).

2. For Quebec (and Montreal): Thomas, Pioneer. The 1200-ton James Gibb (Capt. Wm. Knaggs) was also advertised, but there is no evidence of her sailing (E.C.H., 10 to 24 Feb. 1859).

3. Ibid., 10 Feb. to 17, 31 Mar., 16, 23 Jun. 1859.

Details of free land grants in America could be obtained from Henry Hare & Co., Emigration Agents. The appeal met with only moderate response. When the Pioneer left the Prince's Dock on April 7th, she carried "about 50 passengers and a good cargo" (or 44 emigrants, according to Quebec records): the vessel passed Deal on the 11th, and reached Quebec on May 27th.^{1.}

So ended Hull's direct interest in the North American emigration trade, a trade almost always more closely connected with Canada than with the United States. Throughout the period, 1820-59, in every year but five, sailings for Quebec outnumbered those for the Great Republic.^{2.} In general, as long as freight was available, and

1. E.C.H., 3 Feb. to 31 Mar., 14 Apr., 16 Jun. 1859; Hull News, 26 Mar. 1859; Hull Advertiser, 9, 16 Apr. 1859.
2. Exceptions were 1847, 1850-51, 1853-54. It is significant that in 1850 and 1851, out of every 100 emigrants leaving the British Isles, no fewer than 79 and 80 chose the United States: Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, XXII (Sep. 1859), 428.

agriculturists, mainly from the East Riding and Lincolnshire, were embarking at Hull for the St. Lawrence, it was a profitable venture to return with Canadian timber. Indeed, in the early 'thirties - 1830 (probably), 1831, 1833, 1835 - more emigrants had sailed for Canada from Hull than Liverpool.

Hull's endeavours in the Canadian emigration trade, however, were gradually undermined and finally extinguished by two basic factors: the attraction of Liverpool and the decline in Canadian emigration. From the 1840's onwards, the improving ease of reaching the western port by rail, and thereafter, the facility of more dependable overseas departures and the promise of faster crossings, especially by steamship, bestowed increasing advantage on Liverpool. Emigrants from the industrial North on both sides of the Pennines were drawn by the magnet of Liverpool. Even rural emigrants from the eastern side of the northern counties were encouraged more and more to leave by the Mersey rather than by the Humber. That is not to say that Hull did not continue until the late 'fifties to provide facilities for rural emigration; but that embarkation for North America concentrated increasingly at Liverpool.

In the 1830's, Liverpool had an important share of the emigrants leaving English ports for Quebec; in the 'forties, almost a commanding share; and in the 'fifties, an overwhelming share.^{1.}

The second essential factor in Hull's decline and ultimate exclusion as a port of emigration was the reduced attraction of British North America for emigrants from the United Kingdom in the 1850's. Hull's interest always lay predominantly in the St. Lawrence, Liverpool's, despite the large numbers destined for Quebec from the port, chiefly in the United States. Whilst it is true that United Kingdom

1. EMIGRANTS ARRIVING AT QUEBEC [Source: Helen I. Cowan, p.291
(Table 1V)]

	<u>1830's</u>	<u>1831</u>	<u>1832</u>	<u>1833</u>	<u>1834</u>	<u>1835</u>	<u>1836</u>	<u>1837</u>	<u>1838</u>	<u>1839</u>
From LIVERPOOL	2261	2217	551	1060	388	3748	2247	367	-	
From ENGLISH PORTS	10343	17481	5198	6799	3067	12188	5580	990	1586	
	<u>1840's</u>	<u>1842</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1849</u>						
From LIVERPOOL	5823	2312	4630							
From ENGLISH PORTS	12191	6499	9352							
	<u>1850's</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1853</u>	<u>1854</u>	<u>1855</u>	<u>1856</u>	<u>1857</u>	<u>1858</u>	<u>1859</u>	<u>1860</u>
From LIVERPOOL	4167	9679	15117	5337	7805	9855	5078	4675	5464	
From ENGLISH PORTS	9276	12759	19973	8606	11421	15304	6320	5001	5678	

emigration in the 'fifties to the United States dropped towards the end of the decade (and Australia and New Zealand continued to attract considerable numbers), movement direct to British North America fell to its lowest since 1838.¹ Whereas in 1851, 80 per cent of the 336,000 emigrants from Britain had sailed for the United States, 13 per cent for the North American colonies and 6 per cent for Australasia, in 1859, the respective percentages were 52, 5 and 34 out of 120,000 emigrants. This fall - contemporarily referred to as a

1. EMIGRANTS SAILING FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1851-59.

Source: Wilbur S. Shepperson, p.259 (Table 1)

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1853</u>	<u>1854</u>	<u>1855</u>	<u>1856</u>	<u>1857</u>	<u>1858</u>	<u>1859</u>
UNITED STATES	267	244	231	193	103	112	127	60	70
BRITISH N. AMERICA	43	33	35	44	18	16	21	10	7
AUSTRALIA and N.Z.	22	88	61	83	52	45	61	39	31

(Totals to nearest thousand)

In 1838, 4,577 sailed from the U.K. to B.N.A.

"collapse", despite "strenuous efforts...made to advance the Canadas in popular estimation" - hastened the end of Hull's role once rural departures had subsided.¹ Even if it had been possible to introduce transatlantic steamships from Hull in answer to the plaintive cry in 1856, "Why do not our [Hull] merchants try something of the kind? Their sailing ships will be beaten out of the field if they do not take heed", the Humber port would have gained little in the face of Liverpool's pre-eminence and Canada's reduced attraction in the late 'fifties.²

1. Wilbur S. Shepperson, p.259 (Table 1); J.R.S.S., XXII (Sep. 1959), 428.
2. Hull Advertiser, 5 Jul. 1856.

5. EMIGRATION FROM WHITBY AND SCARBOROUGH.

Transatlantic emigration from the North Riding ports of Whitby and Scarborough, if of limited extent when compared with that from Hull, was, nevertheless, of high importance in certain years, particularly in the 1830's. In those years when rural unrest and other attendant factors produced substantial emigration from the East Riding and north Lincolnshire, Kingston upon Hull could always rely upon a large number of agriculturists seeking passage at the port. Though increasingly modified in the 'forties and 'fifties by the development of rail to, and steamship lines from Liverpool, Hull's catchment-area for emigration generally included at least Holderness, the Yorkshire Wolds, the Vale of Pickering, the eastern margins of the Vale of York and a wide area of north Lincolnshire. At times, even emigrants from Nottinghamshire, the Fens and Norfolk left by the Humber.

Whitby's emigration-hinterland, by contrast, was severely restricted and her passengers almost entirely local in origin. Whitby, situated at the mouth of the Esk on the cliff-bound north-east coast, was backed by the high North York Moors, an area of sparse population and difficult communications. The isolated port therefore mainly looked outwards to supply most of the requirements for her staple industries and occupations: herring-fishing, whaling (1753 - 1837/8) and timber for ship-building.^{1.} Whitby's ability to satisfy the demand for emigrant passages rested jointly on her timber trade, ship-building expertise and prowess of her crews.

By the early nineteenth century, as a result of the depletion of oak supplies at Helmsley (owned by the Earl of Feversham), the Mulgrave Estate, and Egton and Yarm woods, Whitby traded with the Baltic, Norway and Canada for her timber. Europe and North America provided the heavier timber and taller spars; and oak planks were shipped from the Channel ports.^{2.}

1. Dora M. Walker, Whitby Shipping (Whitby: Whitby Lit. & Phil. Soc., 1971), pp.1, 7.

2. Ibid., p.8.

In 1828 Whitby ranked seventh by registered tonnage in English ports, and eighth in the United Kingdom.^{1.}

In 1832 Whitby ranked ninth: 258 vessels totalling 41,317 tons, with 2,098 men, belonged to the port.^{2.}

Whitby ships were trading throughout the world:

Berry's ships were sailing to Australia, Marwood and Usherwood's to China, Mellor's to Chile and Greenland.^{3.}

Vessels carrying emigrants from Hull to Quebec were regularly sailing cargo ships, freighting timber on the inward voyage, and, after fitment of a lower deck, goods and passengers on the outward. In Whitby's case, however, it is tempting to support the inference that vessels were built specifically for the port's emigrant trade.^{4.} It is true that many

1. Richard Weatherill, The Ancient Port of Whitby and its Shipping (Whitby, 1908), pp.18-19. Whitby owned 280 vessels aggregating 46,086 tons gross, a total exceeded only by London, Newcastle, Liverpool, Sunderland, Hull, Whitehaven and Aberdeen.
2. J.R. McCulloch, Dictionary of Commerce...., p.1023 (Table VIII).
3. Dora M. Walker, p.8. The last whaling ships were being built by Fishburn and Brodrick (earlier the builders of Capt. James Cook's famous Endeavour and Resolution) and W.S. Chapman & Co.
4. Ibid.: "Barrick was building Emigrant ships for Canada".

emigrants embarking at Whitby in the years, 1830-34, sailed on vessels that had only recently been built; and indeed, several ships were on their maiden voyage. Most of the vessels, however, were sold to non-Whitby owners within a short time, some in the same year as their first voyage to Quebec. From 1828 to about 1835, Whitby shipping interests were temporarily in decline, the result of disturbed economic conditions. In 1830, a letter from the port to the House of Commons reported: "There are four new ships lying here without purchasers; four out of seven of the extensive ship-building establishments are laid down; a vessel has sailed with part of our population for America, and another goes in May".¹ A more exact conclusion would seem to be that Whitby ship-builders saw in the surge of local emigration, fortunately coincidental, an opportunity to put into service wherever possible those vessels just completed or in process of completion. Conversely, the convenience of local ships probably encouraged greater emigration from the rear-ward of the port than would have otherwise been

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 15 May 1830;
Doncaster Gazette, 21 May 1830.

the case. Yet it is doubtful if the ship-builders constructed their vessels in the expectation of carrying a regular annual load of passengers from Whitby to the St. Lawrence, despite return cargoes of timber.

Even before the surge of emigration in the 'thirties, it was always possible to obtain passage aboard a vessel sailing from Whitby for Canada. On 1st May, 1824, the Diana (Capt. John Breithwsite), accommodating three farmers, with wives and children, left the port for Quebec.¹ The Crown (Capt. Wm. Wray), "having excellent height between Decks....a desirable Conveyance for Passengers", sailed for the same destination with thirty passengers on 15th May, 1828.²

The increase in rural emigration, however, at the beginning of the 'thirties was paralleled by the greater frequency of sailings from Whitby,

1. Hull Advertiser, 7 May 1824.
2. Yorkshire Gazette, 26 Apr., 3 May 1828; Richard Weatherill, pp.19, 105. The Crown, a ship of 383 or 400 tons, was Whitby-built in 1801 by John Barry, the owner: the vessel was lost in 1833 or after.

the same as may be said for the port of Hull. Emigrants from the North Riding undertook a transatlantic voyage for the same confusion of national and personal reasons as did those from the East Riding. Reference may be made to a letter, dated June, 1831, from Stephenson Thomas, of Stokesley, who emigrated to North America after issuing a broadsheet:

"To address his most gracious Majesty King Wm. IV and the members of both Houses of Parliament, wishing them to remember the poor and to take off the tax on every article a poor man uses and in lieu thereof lay a tax on rich people.....Do away with the corn tax altogether, let no duty be upon any foreign produce and let no bar be on free trade with any foreign nations..."

On a personal level, Thomas wrote:

"my daughter married Thos. Napper, Jnr., (formerly Lt. in N.Yks.Militia) and they now reside about 870 miles from New York....It is the wish of my partners and myself to join our daughters....Being partial to my native brand of stock, I am desirous of taking out 2 cows and 2 bulls to improve the breed of that country".^{1.}

1. J. Fairfax - Blakeborough, Cleveland and its Hunt, (1902), pp.30-31; J. Fairfax-Blakeborough to J.T. Dixon, 16 Oct. 1967 .

In 1830, five vessels, carrying in all about four hundred passengers, sailed from Whitby for the St. Lawrence.^{1.} The first vessel out, the Addison (Capt. Brown), sailed on the 6th April, with "about 80" or 86 passengers - mainly farmers and their families - and reached Montreal with a clean bill of health, apart from one "poor girl who died from weakness" on the voyage. While the ship was being fitted out at Whitby, much interest was shown by sightseers, the Addison being the first vessel to prepare for Canada for some time.

There was also "grest clamour" at the vessel's water supply being kept in empty treacle puncheons obtained from the grocer's, as it was thought this would be highly detrimental to health. Fears proved unfounded, however; the water kept "remarkably well" and fifteen full casks remained on reaching Quebec.^{2.} The Gulnare (Capt. Will. Summerson), only recently launched from the Whitby shipyard of Henry Barrick, left with 209, or 230, or "about 230" emigrants aboard

1. Addison, Gulnare, Earl Stanhope, Jackson, Intrepid.

2. Hull Advertiser, 16 Apr., 3 Sep. 1830;
Yorkshire Gazette, 4 Sep. 1830.

for Quebec and Montreal about the middle of May after a delay caused by contrary winds.^{1.} In June, two barques sailed with passengers for Quebec - the Earl Stanhope (Capt. Jameson, or Jamison) with 60, or 70, or "about 70";^{2.} and the Jackson (Capt. Jackson) with 22 or "about 25" emigrants.^{3.} Lastly, the Intrepid (Capt. T. Robson) is noted as leaving with an unstated number of passengers in 1830.^{4.}

1. Gulnare: ship of 338 tons, with poop, forecastle, bust head and quarter galleries. Builder: Henry Barrick, Whitby. Ship launched, 10 Apr. 1830; sold, 1831, to Lowrie, Stringer & Co. (of Liverpool) for £4,570. Thomas Barrick, ship-builder, died at Whitby, 1 May 1827, aged 57 (Hull Advertiser, 4 May 1827).
2. Earl Stanhope: barque of 295 tons. Builder: John Langborne, 1830. Owners: Langborne and Jameson. Sold to Sydney, N.S.W., Oct. 1830. Reg., London, 1838.
3. Jackson: barque of 251 tons. Builder: T. Brodrick, 1829. Owner: Thos. Jackson, Whitby. Reg., Dundee, Mar. 1839.
4. Intrepid: ship of 401 tons. Builder: T. Brodrick, 1829. Reg., Hull, 1830, to Messrs. Chilton and Brodrick. Owners, 1832, John Beedle and John Eggin(g)ton (both of Sculcoates, and of firm of J. Beedle & Co.) and Thos. Holderness (of Hull), 4 shares jointly; and Jos. Smith Eggin(g)ton (of the same firm, and of Kirkella, Hull), 60 shares. Lost in 1835. Hull Advertiser, 16 Apr., 14 May, 3 Sep. 1830; Doncaster Gazette, 16 Apr. 1830; Yorkshire Gazette, 4 Sep. 1830; Whitby Repository, VI (Jul. 1830), 224; Richard Weatherill, pp. 19, 150, 153-54; Dora M. Walker, Sandsend, Whitby, to writer, 6 Dec. 1967.

The year 1831 proved to be a peak for passengers carried from Whitby to the St. Lawrence, as indeed it was for those embarking at Hull. Official emigrant-arrivals at Quebec from Whitby were 471, giving the north-eastern port a placing of seventh in English ports after Hull (2,780), Liverpool (2,261), London (1,135), Bristol (764), Yarmouth (514) and Plymouth (474).^{1.} As in the previous year, five vessels carried emigrants to Quebec, the first to leave being the brig Smales on the 20th March, with "upwards of 30 emigrants on board".^{2.}

The King William - at 380 tons burth., by far the largest of the 1831 vessels - was launched from the Whitby yard of R. & N. Campion on February 28th.^{3.} Weighing anchor on the 11th April

1. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V). The aggregate of Yorkshire press approximations ranges from 390 to 490, but this does not include emigrants carried on the Queen Adelaide.
2. Smales, King William, Ida, Queen Adelaide, Victoria, Whitby Repository, I, N.Ser. (Apr.1831), 128.
3. Ibid.; Hugh P. Kendall, The Streets of Whitby and their Associations (Whitby: Whitby Lit. & Phil.Soc., 1971), p.13. Margaret and Robert Campion founded a banking-house at No. 51, Church Street, Whitby, in 1800. Robt. Campion also ran a spinning and sail-cloth mill in Factory Fields: he erected the obelisk on Easby Moor (1827) to the memory of Capt. Jas. Cook.

with over 200 passengers (or "upwards of 300 emigrants") on board, mainly farmers from the neighbourhood, the ship, commanded by Capt. Carr, reached Quebec on May 24th.¹ One group to sail by the King William consisted of members of the Young family from nearby Ellerby. Writing from near York (Toronto) some eight months later, Hannah Young describes without sophistication the hustle and bustle of the quayside farewell at Whitby:

"You will remember when i left you in Stradfords gallery² i went on in haste to let my Aunt know that you and your Cousin James and Aunt Ann was there and i knew that neither my Uncle nor William was on board i thought she might...come on shore and see you all for the last time but when i found her she had just parted with your Aunt

1. Hull Advertiser, 8 Apr., 1 Jul. 1831; Hull Repository, I, N. Ser. (May 1831), 160; R. Weatherill, p.19.
2. In the early nineteenth century, level building-land being scarce in Whitby, an additional storey, with overhanging balcony, or 'gallery', was often constructed above an already present single-floor building. In 1840, a John Stradford who owned a carpenter and joiner's business, lived in Haggarsgate, near the Pier. For Haggarsgate, v. Hugh P. Kendall, pp.36-37.

Sarah and her heart was full of trouble seeing them left her expecting to find you again and to bid you a final farewell but [when] i went to the door it was locked and you were all gone but there being a road through the celler i got to the street but were you was gone i never could learn i went into every room but could not find neither friend nor relation nor any that i knew this being done i made the best of my way back through the celler to go on board again when I got below the plank was drawn the ship was moved all was ordered below my Uncle came on board at the bridge¹. as soon as the sailors would allow we came upon deck and took the last survey...."

1. This is presumably a reference to Whitby's Old Drawbridge, 1766-1835: the draw-bridge across the river at the head of the harbour was "supported by stone piers, opening in the centre by means of hinged leaves which were raised then lowered by means of block and tackle" (Hugh P. Kendall, pp.20-21; and pictorial representation).

Unfortunately, the letter sheds only moderate light on the actual voyage apart from the almost inevitable seasickness afflicting a landsman.

Sailing on April 11th,

"i was not more than an hour before i was very sick my Aunt was not sick untill the next morning she was the better sailer but for the first three weeks we were both very sick and i had such a violent cough i thought i should have died my Uncle and William was never sick untill the 14 or 15 when the wind blew from the North a perfect gale but after that they had good health all the way over..."

Doubtless the "perfect gale" retarded the vessel's northward progress for the Pentland Firth was not reached until the 20th April, when

"we had Scotland on the left hand and the Orkney island on the right at Scotland we could clearly discern the buildings the men ploughing the cattle grazing in large herds by the sea side my Aunt was upon deck most part of the day at night we left the North sea and entered the Western Ocean and bade adieu to the British island...."

Prayer-meetings were held on deck every Sunday morning and afternoon, and every weekday evening below deck to accommodate those too unwell to go above.

Hannah Young's letter contains no further comment on the voyage until the 21st May, when, despite expectations that the King William would reach Quebec that day, the vessel anchored at 2.0 p.m. opposite "the goose island". Here, "Mr. Carr"¹ Mr. Wilson my Uncle and two or three" others rowed ashore, returning late in the evening with "a quantity of milk some neatstraws hats and a goose"; the last was killed and roasted. Quebec itself was reached on the 24th; the passengers disembarked and boarded a steam-packet for Montreal, arriving there on the 27th. From Montreal, an open boat was taken to Prescott, and then, another steam-packet to York (Toronto). The journey from Quebec to York lasted three weeks, "the most miserable

1. This was perhaps the King William's commander, Capt. Carr.

we ever had since we left england".^{1.}

After the King William, three further vessels sailed from Whitby with Quebec-bound emigrants in 1831. The Ida (Capt. Summerson) left in early May with 69 passengers;²

1. Hannah, William and Jane Young, nr. York, U.C. to relatives at Ellerby nigh Whitby, 8 Jan. 1832 (Letters of Emigrants to America, in L.S.E., M627). This long letter, written partly by Hannah, and partly by William or (more probably) Jane Young, contains much useful information about their life in Canada, Jun. 1831-Jan. 1832. On establishing a base at York, Hannah's uncle and William reconnoitred in a number of directions with a view to the purchase of land. Local preferences were for Canada rather than the U.S.; for in the latter, "the taxes is more, the land is more an acre, more barter and not so much money in circulation". Yet, the Youngs were dissatisfied with the poor, sandy quality of the land they saw, and had decided to chance their arm in Ohio, when, as they were returning, 17 miles from York, they saw a house nearing completion in Dundas Street. After negotiations with the owner, a tavern-keeper, the Youngs took the house on lease for three years, at a rent of £45 p.a., with option to leave, if desired, after one year; 200 acres of land were included, with 20 acres meadow and 20 acres semi-cleared; 6-8 acres were sown with wheat in the autumn (1831) and oats or barley were to follow in spring (1832). Hannah suffered from homesickness, but this was assuaged by the appearance of a Yorkshire couple with four children who had emigrated from Hornsea two years earlier. Others from England were settling rapidly in the neighbourhood which included a village and Methodist chapel. It was intended to investigate Ohio, but the onset of winter altered plans. The house which became a tavern is described by Hannah. Some of the reasons for going to Canada are suggested and first impressions stated: "very few emigrants like this country at first for it has a very wild appearance but we like it very well now and we are doing very well in our situation and is very glad that we left england and came to america for now we have some recompence for all troubles and trials that we had to go through at the time when we had no home but thank God we have got house and land again and we have no bishop, no priest nor poor to provide for what a family does earn here they have it for themselves". Hannah's uncle would have bought the tavern, but the owner refused to sell, so mortgage of a farm of 114 acres was taken 1/2 mile away - 30 acres cleared and a good house - to be bought for £200. (Details of climate, workers' wages, etc., follow. William and Jane Young's part of the letter includes information about their planting potatoes, the purchase of two cows and calves for £9: a horse would probably be bought for £15-20 the following spring; observations on the poor quality of cows, pigs and sheep, but oxen large: other details of agriculture).
2. Hull Advertiser, 13 May 1831; Richard Weatherill, pp. 19, 155. Ida: brig of 239 tons. Builder: Henry Barrick, 1831. Sold, 1833, to Sir John Tobin (of Liverpool) for £2,630. Reg., Greenock, 1840. Weatherill (p. 155) notes that the Ida sailed in March, 1831, not May.

the Queen Adelaide was launched on May 27th prior to her taking on passengers;^{1.} and the new snow Victoria (Capt. Godder, or Geddes) left in the third week of June with 91 passengers, again mainly farmers and their families, and probably arrived at Quebec in early August.^{2.}

There is every indication that 1832 was another peak year for emigrants embarking at Whitby, for "the people of the small district around Whitby seem to have a particular inclination for trying their fortunes on the other side of the Atlantic; and even the inhabitants of the town begin to follow the example of their rustic neighbours".^{3.}

Some difficulty arises, however, in attempting to correlate the official number of emigrant-arrivals at Quebec with those noted in Yorkshire sources as having earlier left Whitby. According to Quebec sources, emigrants arriving from both Hull and Whitby in 1832 fell to about one-half those of the previous year; from 2,780 to 1,288, and from 471 to 236.^{4.} Evidence from Whitby itself indicates that the fall was only 471 (in 1831) to 424 (in 1832).

1. Hull Advertiser, 3 Jun. 1831; Yorkshire Gazette, 4 Jun. 1831. Queen Adelaide: brig of 219 tons. Builder: R. & N. Campion; launched, 27 May 1831; with bust-head and half-poop.
2. Hull Advertiser, 24 Jun., 16 Sep. 1831. A snow was a brig-rigged vessel with supplementary mast just abaft the mainmast carrying a trysail.
3. Ibid., 20 Apr. 1832.
4. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V).

In the latter year, four vessels without doubt sailed from the port.¹ Moreover, the stated complement of each is not prefixed by 'about' or 'upwards of', but is noted exactly to the last digit. The Quebec total of 236 is indeed smaller than the number carried by only one of the four vessels - the Columbus, probably the most documented of all Whitby emigrant ships - which left with 245. Some doubt must therefore be placed on the Quebec evidence, unless, exceptionally, only adult passengers were listed there on arrival. Some mortality, especially amongst children, did occur aboard the Columbus, and it is possible that only this ship's arrival was recorded of the four from Whitby. Taking the figure of 424 from Whitby as correct, the north-eastern port ranked tenth in English ports in 1832 after London (4,150), Liverpool (2,217), Bristol (1,836), Plymouth (1,398), Hull (1,288), Portsmouth (932), Maryport (884), Whitehaven (795) and Yarmouth (793).²

1. Smales, Corsair, Regina, Columbus.

2. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V).

The four Whitby vessels sailed for Quebec within a period of one month. As in 1831, the Smales (Capt. Tyers, or Cyrus), with 20 passengers, left in late March and reached Quebec safely.^{1.} The Corssair (Capt. Will Summerson) sailed in the first few days of April with 74 passengers on board.^{2.} Shortly afterwards, the Regina (Capt. Leng) set out with 85 passengers, and reached Grosse Island quarantine station on May 26th.^{3.} The Columbus (Capt. H. Barrick, Jnr.), the most celebrated of all Whitby emigrant vessels, and her voyage and passengers, by far the most documented, sailed on 16th April, 1832, with 245 passengers and arrived at Quebec on May 27th.^{4.}

1. Whitby Repository, I, N.Ser. (Apr.1831),128; Hull Advertiser, 20 Apr., 29 Jun.1832.
2. Hull Advertiser, 6, 20 Apr. 1832. Capt. Summerson had commanded the Gulnare in 1830, and Ida in 1831.
3. Ibid., 20 Apr., 20 Jul. 1832; Hull Repository, 111, N. Ser. (Feb. 1833), 55. The Regina is described as "Mr. Campion's new brig".
4. Hull Advertiser, 20 Apr., 20 Jul. 1832; Doncaster Gazette, 27 Apr. 1832; Whitby Repository, 11, N. Ser. (May 1832), 160; Richard Weatherill, pp.19, 155-56. Columbus: ship of 467 tons reg. Builder: Henry and Geo Barrick; launched, 17 Mar. 1832. Owner, 1873, Edmund Handcock (of Falmouth); sold to Norway, 3 Jul.1883. A photograph of the model of the Columbus, built by Richard Weatherill, and on display in Whitby Museum, appears in Dora M. Walker, Whitby Shipping, p.12.

A contemporary hand-bill described the Columbus as follows:

" FOR

QUEBEC

and the Canadas

with goods and passengers,

and carries a surgeon,

The fine New Ship,

"COLUMBUS"

burth. 750 tons,

H. Barrick, Commander,

"will sail from Whitby about the first week in

April, 1832.

This ship having a poop and forecastle and 7 ft. 6in. between decks, affords superior accommodation for passengers desirous to embark for America. For terms of passage (the ship finding water and fuel) and freight of goods, apply to Messrs. H. and G. Barrick, ship-builders, Whitby, who will give letters of recommendation to their agent at Quebec; also ample information respecting the employment of labourers and small capitalists for the sale of lands in Upper Canada.

Early applications are requested, as the ship is expected soon to be filled up.

R. ROGERS, Printer, Whitby".^{1.}

1. Richard Weatherill, pp.155-56; Dora M. Walker to writer, 6 Dec. 1969. A photograph of the notice is displayed in Whitby Museum.

Terms of passage, according to other advertisements, were £2.10s.^{1.}

When the Columbus weighed anchor in Whitby harbour on the afternoon of April 16th, most of her 245 passengers had been residents of the port or neighbouring areas. Representative of these were John Dixon (to whom we are indebted for a journal of the voyage),^{2.} his wife, and children, Jane, John and Breckon; Dixon's sister and, or, sister-in-law and family; Margaret Headlam; William Hutchinson and family; John Dobson; and Dr. John Mewburn and family. Andrew Anderson, a cooper, had married Mary Dawson (or Dowson), also of Whitby, that very morning at St. Mary's Church, before boarding the vessel which was to open the door of fortune for himself, and for his new wife who would sail later.^{3.} The ship's complement may have also included a Mr. Davison and family, who, accompanied by his wife, "had come down from the country to Whitby" to embark: sadly, Mrs. Davison had died in childbirth the previous Wednesday afternoon.^{4.}

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 25 Feb., 3 Mar. 1832.

2. "Journal of Mr. J. Dixon's Voyage from Whitby to Quebec" (to R. Frankland, Whitby), Whitby Repository, 111, N. Ser. (Feb. 1833), 53-56.

3. Hull Advertiser, 20 Apr. 1832; Yorkshire Gazette, 21 Apr. 1832.

4. Yorkshire Gazette, 14 Apr. 1832.

As in Hannah Young's letter recording the voyage of the King William in 1831, the early lines of John Dixon's "Journal" form a catalogue of the seasickness afflicting the passengers of the Columbus. No sooner had the vessel left harbour on April 16th than "a few were sick, [Dixon's] sister and children were of the number"; on the 17th, "several sick, my wife and Jane a little sick"; and on the 18th, the ship sailing in strong southerly winds, "my sister, her husband, and children, very sick". That same day, the Columbus passed through the Pentland Firth in the early evening: the sea was running high and prevented the boarding of a pilot. Dixon "was on deck when a sea struck...and came over [the] bulwark, the ship listed so much to one side that ten or twelve men fell down as though they were shot, but were not much worse". A heavy gale was encountered on the 20th, shortly after the Atlantic had been reached: all the sails were taken in, the top-gallant masts struck. "Most of the people [were] very sick, [and] some cried, 'If I had known this, I would have begged my bread from door to door before I would have come', this and such-like were the language of a great many who were overpowered

with sickness". Whenever the weather improved, however, less discomfort was experienced. On the 25th April, for instance: "A very fine day, the sea smooth, and the people wonderfully revived, they appeared like a new company, all full of spirits and activity"; and on the following day: "The weather fine, all the beds ordered on deck".

Yet more distressing than seasickness was the degree of mortality among the children on board. The youngest child of Dixon's sister was "very ill in an inflammation in the breast" on the 24th April, and by the 29th, no hope remained; at 3.0 p.m. on May 2nd, the child died, and on the following evening "was committed to a watery grave". On May 13th, William Hutchinson's youngest child was seriously ill, and died and was buried the following day, near the Newfoundland Bank. John Dobson, a lad of fourteen, the nephew of Thomas Blackburn, died on the 18th and was buried on the 19th. During the course of the voyage, three infant children of surgeon John Mewburn - Rebecca, Eleanor Margaret and Arthur - also died.^{1.}

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 30 Jun. 1832; Doncaster Gazette, 6 Jul. 1832; Hull Advertiser, 6 Jul. 1832. One of the two girls named may well have been the daughter born to Mrs. Mewburn on 7th March, 1830: Whitby Repository, VI (Apr. 1830), 128.

Bruises and injuries were caused by the rolling of the ship and the inadequate sea-legs of the passengers. Apart from the "ten or twelve men" who fell down when the ship was struck by a sea on April 18th, a young woman fell "and flesh-rent her leg" on the 30th. Dixon's eldest nephew fell through a hatchway into the hold on May 1st when the ship lurched, but "was not much worse".

All was not gloom, however, for on April 29th: "Margaret Headlam has got a son this morning about two o'clock, they have named him [appropriately] William Columbus Headlam".

The previous year, Hannah Young had remarked on the religious services held aboard the King William. John Dixon also notes that a public prayer-meeting was held every evening (when possible) and on Sundays. Not all, however, were as God-fearing and spiritually inclined as Dixon, for (April 20th), "only a few attend, some on board laugh and mock at everything sacred". Towards the end of the voyage (May 23rd), Dixon enlarges on this theme:

"the conduct of the people were ten times worse than I ever expected; the peaceable were much annoyed by the abominable and filthy language of several on board; it was no uncommon thing for them to be cursing, swearing, and drunk, until twelve and one o'clock in the morning, and if any thing was said to them, they were much worse; it has given me a greater hatred to sin than ever, and a greater love to God and his people; I would say pray for us, that our lot may be cast among those that love and fear God".

Despite the gales in the early part of the voyage, children's deaths, accidents, and blasphemous behaviour of some of her passengers, the Columbus reached the Newfoundland Bank on the 15th May, where codfish and brandy were bought from a fishing boat. Capt. Race, snow-covered, was observed on the 23rd, and three days later, the vessel was anchored at Grosse Island with many other ships. Here, Capt. Barrick and the ship's doctor presented the bill of health to the authorities. The ship arrived at Quebec on Sunday,

27th May: Dixon considered that, on the voyage, "the water was much better, and the smells not so bad, as I thought they would be...we have had as fine a passage as any ship we hear of..."¹.

1. Whitby Repository, 111, N.Ser. (Feb. 1833), 53-56. The sequel to the "Journal" follows in a letter, John Dixon, Whitchurch, U.C., to George Dixon, Darlington, 30 Sep. 1832, in Ibid., 56-58. In it, Dixon describes the family's journey from Quebec to Montreal by steam-packet, and by Durham boat (six days) to Prescott. Timothy Dowson who left Glaisdale (in the upper valley of the Esk) in 1831 was encountered. York (Toronto) was reached by steam-packet on June 7th. John Dixon whose occupation in Whitby had been a shoemaker, naturally looked for similar work in Canada. York, he discovered, contained too many shoemakers' shops for his liking (prices of all types of footwear included), and trade was dull. He and William Hugill (from Glaisdale), after putting their goods in a rented house at York, sallied forth therefore to the Gore of Toronto, about 18 miles from the town where friends of Hugill lived, also William Harrison, a distant relation of Dixon. Harrison invited Dixon to remain there as shoemaker and offered to build him a house. As the settlement was so new, Dixon declined the offer, but Hugill remained. With York as base, Dixon reconnoitred the country for three weeks. There was no shortage of shoemakers at Newmarket; and in a nearby village, though it was suggested he could take over a vacancy - and "it being an old settlement, I thought the people would be better able to pay for what they got than new settlers" - Dixon could not find a house to his liking and returned to York. On the road to Hamilton a few days later, Dixon encountered two Indians, both Methodists, and returned with them to their village (Creditt), presumably not far from the tavern occupied and land settled by the Young family in 1831. Still not satisfied, Dixon returned to York, "weary, fatigued and ill for a few days". Dixon, however, finally resolved to settle on Young Street, near Newmarket, and rented a house from a Mrs. Plater, also a Methodist. On June 28th, Dixon and his family left York for the new home: £3 was spent in moving the family possessions in two waggons over the 26 miles. Though business was dull, some adults and most children going barefoot in the summer, Dixon was far from being short of work. His son, John, was hired for one year to Mrs. Plater "to learn the farming business" on the large farm. Land prices continued to rise: in Dixon's area, cleared land was £5 an acre, whilst uncleared was 5s., 10s. or 15s. an acre according to quality. Near him lived Jonathan Petch and William Wells, both former Whitby shoemakers, also Timothy Dowson from Glaisdale. Dixon concludes his letter in terms similar to those stated by Hannah Young: "Many regretted that they ever came to America, when they first landed, but those who have been a few years in the country, when asked if they would like to return to Old England, invariably answered - No".

At this point it is worthwhile to consider the emigration and subsequent career of John Mewburn, of Whitby, the most notable passenger aboard the Columbus when she sailed from the port in April, 1832.^{1.}

Born in 1789, John Mewburn was already a mature man of 43 when he took the step of emigrating. Apart from his professional standing and practice of some twenty years as a surgeon in Whitby, Mewburn was a respected Church member and had sat on most of the charitable committees of the town. He was also a Subscriber-Founder of Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society, in 1823, and on 24th February, 1829, was appointed as one of the two Curators in the Natural History and Fossil Departments of Whitby Museum, a position which he held until his resignation - though elected to an honorary membership of the Society - on 29th March, 1832.^{2.}

1. Dora M. Walker, p.12.

2. Whitby Repository, V (Mar. 1829), 96; Hull Advertiser, 4 May 1832; Hull News, 7 May 1864; Dora M. Walker to writer, 6 Dec. 1969, 14 Feb. 1970.

The stated reasons for Mewburn's emigration are to be found in a memorial he addressed to the Colonial Secretary before departure:

" That your Memorialist forty years of age^{1.} has practised with much success as a Surgeon and Accoucheur in the town of Whitby for twenty years, that having five Sons and five Daughters whom he has educated at a considerable expense but is unable to place his Sons out in the different professions or trades to which they may be qualified from the number of applicants in similar circumstances and the very extravagant premiums required... has determined on removing his family to Upper Canada."^{2.}

1. According to Hull News, 7 May 1864, Mewburn died in the April of that year, aged 75; if this is correct, he was born in 1789, and was aged 43 in 1832.
2. C.O.384/29, Mewburn to Colonial Office, 1832 (cited by Helen I. Cowan, p.188). John Mewburn is listed in 1823 as a surgeon living in Skinner Street ("dull, respectable Skinner Street": Hugh P. Kendall, p.40), Whitby: Edward Baines, History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York, 11, p.583. In addition to Mewburn, eight other surgeons are noted as practising in a town of 8,697 population (1821). At least one of Mewburn's sons - Francis Clarke Mewburn, M.D. - practised as a doctor in Canada (Whitby Gazette, 28 Feb. 1863).

Sailing on the Columbus, John Mewburn and his family reached Quebec on May 27th, the voyage saddened by the loss of three of their children.^{1.} The family then followed the normal route by way of Montreal and Prescott to York (Toronto),^{2.} where Dr. Mewburn "took a house at a high rent for a month while [he] viewed the country, the greatest deception being practised on all newcomers who do not look for themselves". He travelled to Cobourg, back to York by water, to the neighbourhood of Newcastle and on Dundas Street to Hamilton, thence to Grimsby and Niagara.

Near the Falls, at the village of Stamford, Mewburn decided to settle. "The village", he wrote, "...has a beautiful green, and houses built on either side, and a Church. The surrounding land is like a gentlemen's Park in the Old Country..." With capital brought from home, Mewburn purchased property containing

"one hundred acres of very good land, sixty in cultivation, the rest in wood, with an orchard containing from fifty to sixty apple trees, an excellent house, garden, barn, and stables, two wells of fine water. The sum I pay is £1,200 - one half down, the rest in... five years".

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 30 Jun. 1832; Doncaster Gazette, 6 Jul. 1832; Hull Advertiser, 6 Jul. 1832. John Dixon mentions Dr. Mewburn at Quebec, in Whitby Repository, 111, N. Ser. (Feb. 1833), 55.
2. John Mewburn, York, U.C., to Ed., Whitby Repository, 20 Jul. 1832, in Whitby Repository, 11, N. Ser., (Oct. 1832), 320.

Warnings and advice follow:

"I name this circumstance as shewing the rapidly increasing value of land in Canada, and to place others who might be disposed to emigrate on their guard not to venture here without a proper sufficiency of cash... No gentleman should emigrate with less than £1,500. To obtain a decent house, and from 100 to 150 acres, £700 to £1,000 is required; though in the Bay of Quinté, farms may be obtained from £400 to £500, but there are disadvantages. Fever and Ague and the terrible severity of the Winters. I ought to state that hundreds of the poorer class of emigrants have suffered dreadfully. Immense numbers were unable to procure work for weeks. The accommodation of the taverns are very indifferent, bad wine, bad cooking. I advise no one to follow me who has not a well filled purse, and is not prepared for many difficulties and dangers...." 1.

1. John Mewburn, Howe House, Stamford, U.C., to R. Kirby, bookseller, Whitby, 28 Aug. 1832, in Whitby Repository, 111, N. Ser. (Jan. 1833), 14-18; Dora M. Walker to writer, 14 Feb. 1970.

Correspondence from, and information about John Mewburn continued to flow from Danby House, Stamford, for over thirty years.¹ In 1833, at least five letters from the surgeon reached Whitby. A letter of good wishes was followed by another reporting on the Canadian railway system.² A third recommended emigrants to take out

"good Barley, best Oats, Clover Seeds, for Seed; and if any can save their Potatoes, to bring out a bushel or two of good Kidneys. All these are much wanted in Upper Canada, for Seed. Garden Seeds are useful".³

By the April of that year, Mewburn and his family were well settled in Canada: he had established "an excellent and respectable practice all at once",

1. It is not certain whether Howe House (the address of the letter of 28 Aug. 1832) was a temporary residence in Stamford, U.C., or whether this was the property bought by Mewburn, and re-named Danby House, perhaps after the village in the upper valley of the Esk, west of Whitby (Yorkshire).
2. John Mewburn to Ed., Whitby Repository, n.d. and 20 Feb. 1833, in Whitby Repository, lll, N.Ser. (Apr.1833), 128; (Jun.1833), 185-87.
3. John Mewburn to Ed., Whitby Repository, 6 Apr.1833, in Ibid., (May 1833), 160.

and had earlier been sent by Sir John Colbourn to assist "six tribes of Native Indians" during a cholera outbreak near Brantford. There were no thoughts of returning to England. Mewburn's expressed motives for leaving Whitby - his inability to "place his Sons out in the different professions and trades to which they may be qualified from the number of applicants in similar circumstances and the very extravagant premiums required" - appear to have been partly vindicated at an early date. "Would it not be foolish", he rhetorized, "to repine and wish to return and leave a country where so many prospects brighten before us, and where our children may obtain a sure footing and a goodly independence not to be found at home?"¹.

Later in the year, Mewburn indicated that, initial trials and tribulations apart,

1. John Mewburn to R. Kirby, Whitby, 28 Aug. 1832; John Mewburn to John Taylerson, Whitby, 27 Apr. 1833; John Taylerson to Ed., Whitby Repository, 21 Jun. 1833, in Whitby Repository, 111, N.Ser. (Jan. 1833), 17; (Jun. 1833), 189; C.O. 384/29, Mewburn to Colonial Office, 1832.

"Mechanics, farm-servants, and labourers do well here: farmers and gentlemen with large families, who have property and income, and would not think it degrading to drive a team, harrow, make hay, and other light amusements of agriculture, cannot fail of ultimate success and comfortable independence:....Labourers and mechanics should have from 10 to £20, small farmers 2 to £300, large farmers 3 to £600; if more all the better.¹

Fifteen years later, John Mewburn was still extolling the virtues of "emigration to the Canadas.... [for] the poor, industrious, labouring man, with a large family", and for gentlemen of capital. Moreover, ever the loyalist, he did not fail to underline the disadvantages of settlement in the United States:

1. John Mewburn to Ed., Whitby Repository, n.d. [1833], in Whitby Repository, III, N. Ser. (Sep. 1833), 288.

"with a few exceptions", he wrote, "every Englishman, rich or poor, who settles in the United States, finds himself an exile, literally a banished man. The Yankees twit him, on all occasions, on his precious slavery, and cordially hate him. Unless he forswear allegiance to his sovereign he is debarred from all political privileges; and to obtain justice for wrongs inflicted, let him apply to 'the man in the moon'. Every honest Englishman, true-hearted and loyal, laments with bitterness of heart if he settle in a country where he is debarred the agreeable societies of life and looked upon with suspicion and scorn as an alien and a stranger.^{1.}

1. Also, memories of Anglo-U.S. friction were still strong on the question of the American-Canadian westward frontier in the Oregon territory. The forty-ninth parallel of latitude was established as the frontier in the west between the two countries by the treaty of 1846.

For gentlemen of property, Canada presented a fine future: for them, Mewburn proposed the co-operative acquisition of land on a grand scale. Some twenty or thirty capitalists, each possessing from £5,000 to £10,000, should band together to "purchase a considerable block of uncleared lands in Canada West,...and form an English settlement among themselves". Included in further details was the suggestion that such capitalists should "bring their retainers and servants, together with their clergymen, doctors, and schoolmasters". By their action, their future and their children's would be assured; and by their example, "Canada will become part and parcel of the British empire".^{1.}

In 1849, Mewburn declared his views on political affairs;^{2.} and, as late as 1858, returned to a detailed consideration of Canadian railways, a topic which had attracted his attention in 1833.^{3.} In 1863, Mewburn's son took up his pen to

1. John Mewburn to Ed., Yorkshire Gazette, n.d.[1847], in Yorkshire Gazette, 8 May 1847.
2. John Mewburn to Ed., Yorkshire Gazette, 2 Jul.1849, in Yorkshire Gazette, 28 Jul. 1849.
3. John Mewburn to Ed., Whitby Repository, 20 Feb.1833, in Whitby Repository, 111, N.Ser.(Jun.1833),185-87; John Mewburn to Ed., Whitby Gazette, 25 Nov.1858, in Whitby Gazette, 18 Dec. 1858.

write two letters to Whitby describing events in the American Civil War.^{1.}

Apart from the first few months after his emigration to Canada, John Mewburn lived nearly thirty-two years at Danby House, Stamford, until his death on 12th April, 1864, at the age of seventy-five.^{2.} Whilst fully committed to his new home and medical practice, he never forgot his former connections in Yorkshire. Indeed, his regular letters, of which those quoted must represent only a fraction, indicate an extended relationship with his earlier area of residence.^{3.} In 1834, he sent a

1. Harrison C. Mewburn, Brockville, C.W., to Ed., Whitby Gazette, 23 Apr., 14 May 1863, in Whitby Gazette, 23 May, 6 Jun. 1863.
2. Hull News, 7 May 1864.
3. In 1833, he complained of the large number of letters he had received requesting information about Canada from writers in England, often unknown to him, and of the heavy postal charges incurred in replying: John Mewburn to John Taylerson, Whitby, 27 Apr. 1833; John Taylerson to Ed., Whitby Repository, 21 Jun. 1833, in Whitby Repository, 111, N.Ser. (Jun. 1833). 189.

collection of birds, fossils and minerals, together with a paper on natural history and remarks on Canadian agriculture, to Whitby Museum where he had earlier been a curator.^{1.} Much later, in 1858, he wished to "be kindly remembered to all my good old surviving friends, who have not forgotten the emigrants of 1832, in Whitby, and kind-hearted, honest Robin Hood's Bay Town inhabitants, whose kindness and hospitality I have shared on many a dark and stormy night and wintry day". There is no indication that John Mewburn ever returned to Whitby, but his son, Harrison Chilton Mewburn, certainly spent "a very pleasant and agreeable sojourn in the land of his forefathers" in 1858, and probably visited Whitby, re-crossing the Atlantic to Boston by the Europa, thence by rail to Clifton, C.W.^{2.}

1. Hull Advertiser, 19 Dec. 1834.

2. John Mewburn to Ed., Whitby Gazette, 25 Nov. 1858, in Whitby Gazette, 18 Dec. 1858.

John Mewburn's family also lived in Stamford or nearby. In his memorial of 1832 to the Colonial Secretary, it is recorded that his family consisted of "five Sons and five Daughters", one of the latter having been born on 7th March, 1830.¹ How many children actually accompanied Dr. Mewburn and his wife to Canada in 1832 is not known, but three of them, infants - Rebecca, Eleanor Margaret and Arthur - died on the voyage, probably from cholera or ship fever.² At least three of his children grew to maturity in Canada. Henrietta, his second daughter, died at Danby House, Stamford, on Christmas Day, 1851, aged 28.³ Emily (née Sutton), formerly from Ellesmere (Shropshire), the wife of Harrison Chilton Mewburn, Dr. Mewburn's son, died at Stamford on 9th May, 1846, also aged 28, leaving a family.⁴ In 1858, Harrison visited England, and in 1863 was living at Brockville, C.W.⁵ A second son, Francis Clarke Mewburn, M.D., was noted as living at Drummondville, near Niagara Falls, in 1863, on the occasion of the marriage on the

1. C.O. 384/29, Mewburn to Colonial Office, 1832; Whitby Repository, VI (April 1830), 128.
2. Yorkshire Gazette, 30 Jun. 1832; Doncaster Gazette, 6 Jul. 1832; Hull Advertiser, 6 Jul. 1832.
3. Yorkshire Gazette, 31 Jan. 1852.
4. Ibid., 4 Jul. 1846.
5. Whitby Gazette, 18 Dec. 1858, 23 May, 6 Jun. 1863.

28th January of John Mewburn's granddaughter, Isabel Mary, to Joseph Nicholson Gordon (of Elswood House, near Baltimore, Md.).^{1.}

After the significant number of emigrants arriving from Whitby in 1831 (471) and 1832 (7236), only 46 were recorded at Quebec in 1833.^{2.} In total, arrivals in the St. Lawrence from English ports fell in 1833 to fewer than one-third those of the previous year, a drop shared not only by the major emigration ports of London, Liverpool, Bristol, Plymouth and Hull, but also by all but one or two of the minor ports.^{3.} Relative to Whitby, however, it is interesting to observe that emigrants arriving at Quebec from Stockton-on-Tees rose from 132 to 233.^{4.} It is possible, therefore, that with shipping on hand, some North Riding passengers embarked on Teesside rather than at Whitby.

1. Whitby Gazette, 28 Feb. 1863.
2. No vessel is noted in the Yorkshire press as sailing from Whitby for Quebec in 1833.
3. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V). Arrivals at Quebec in 1832 and 1833 were: London (4,150; 1,287), Liverpool (2,217; 551), Bristol (1,836; 107), Plymouth (1,398; 440) and Hull (1,288; 655).
4. Ibid.

The year 1834 proved to be the last in which emigrants embarking at Whitby exceeded 100; and the recorded total of 273 reaching the St. Lawrence was the third highest of the 1830's.^{1.} The Hindoo (Capt. Seaton), launched one month earlier, left Whitby with 100 or 101 passengers on the 7th May and reached Quebec on June 14th. At the time of her departure, two further vessels, unnamed, were preparing to sail, each having already reserved "a considerable number of berths".^{2.}

Evidence in the second half of the 1830's relating to departures from Whitby and arrivals at Quebec is less precise. Numbers reaching Quebec in the three years, 1835-37, were recorded as 59, 71 and 71 respectively, with nil returns for 1838 and 1839.^{3.}

1. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V). 192 passengers also reached Quebec from Stockton.
2. R. Weatherill, pp.19, 157; Hull Packet, 4 Apr. 1834; Hull Advertiser, 16 May, 18 Jul. 1834.
Hindoo: barque of 310 tons, with poop, forecastle, bust head and quarter galleries. Builder: Henry Barrick, Whitby. Barque launched, 2 Apr. 1834. Reg., Liverpool, Oct. 1834.
3. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V).

No noted press announcements occur for 1835, but in 1836, two vessels sailed for Quebec. The Medusa (453 tons burth.) left Whitby on the 13th May with 70 passengers - a complement which corresponds almost exactly with the year's total arrivals at Quebec - and on the 16th, the Hindustan (Capt. Lamb).^{1.} In 1837, a year when 71 recorded passengers reached Quebec from Whitby, the Sultana (Capt. Samson), "with emigrants", passed through the Pentland Firth on May 26th.^{2.} In 1838, a year of no recorded passenger-arrivals from Whitby, the Conrad (Capt. Robinson) sailed "with goods and passengers" on the 10th May, passed through the Pentland Firth on the 18th, and reached Quebec on the 15th June.^{3.}

1. Hull Advertiser, 27 May 1836. The Medusa, described as a "fine, new ship", was probably another case of a recently launched vessel carrying emigrants to Canada.
2. Hull Packet, 9 Jun. 1837.
3. Hull Advertiser, 18 May, 1 Jun., 13 Jul. 1838.

The departure of Stephenson Thomas, of Stokesley, in 1831 or 1832 to join his daughter in North America has already been noted.^{1.}

Some few miles to the east, Westerdale and neighbouring upland villages also witnessed the emigration of many families in the 'thirties. Timothy Dowson who left Glaisdale in 1831 was encountered by John Dixon at Prescott the following year. William Hugill, Dixon's companion near Toronto, also hailed from Glaisdale.^{2.}

There is no evidence confirming the actual year in which Elizabeth Thompson decided to leave the Westerdale area to start afresh in Canada, nor indeed whether she embarked at Whitby.^{3.}

Yet she and her family were fairly representative of other emigrants from the upper Esk valley.

1. J. Fairfax - Blakeborough, Cleveland and its Hunt, pp. 30-31.
2. John Dixon, Whitchurch, U.C., to George Dixon, Darlington, 30 Sep. 1832, in Whitby Repository, 111, N. Ser. (Feb. 1833), 56-58. Hugill settled initially with friends about 18 miles from York (Toronto).
3. The Thompson family probably emigrated about 1838 or 1839.

Writing to her "Brother & Sester George and Elizabeth Thompson", in Westerdale,^{1.} from Upper Canada in 1842, Mrs. Thompson declared herself generally well satisfied with her new life.

"thanks be too The allmity wich gided
ous saif into A forend land...", she
wrote; "teel them all that amarica
is a plenty ful Countery and [has]
every thing but muneypel Can get
traid of aney soart for work we mack
our own suger & malases & veneger & soap
& Candels...we wood not lick to lev in
England agan for we [are] very Comfortabel
and has good nibers".

1. A number of gravestones in Westerdale churchyard (visited by writer, 3 Sep. 1972, 25 Aug. 1974) bear the name of Thompson. One stands to the memory of George Thompson and his wife, Elizabeth: the former died 14 Aug. 1870, aged 80, the latter, 25 Dec. 1848, aged 71. In her letter, Mrs. Thompson gently criticises George and Elizabeth for not writing more often ("we thoat you Mesed sending many tims when nibers was Comeng too america..."); and from her brothers, William and Joseph, she had received no replies. A further gravestone notes the death of Joseph Thompson on 19 Jul. 1855, aged 68, and his wife, (yet another) Elizabeth, on 24 Jun. 1844, aged 60.

In 1842, Elizabeth Thompson was living in Cavan township with her family close at hand.¹ The following year, however, she was expecting to move a short distance to 100 acres of land in Menvers township, secured by her son, John, for a down-payment of \$20 and to be paid off in 1843.² Another son, Thomas, lived some forty miles away: he and his wife, Ann, an only child, worked a 100-acre lot, with cows, oxen and horses, on behalf of Ann's ageing parents, formerly from Hull.³ Elizabeth Thompson also had three daughters in Canada. Ann, married to shoemaker, Edward Kan(e), had three sons - Jacob, aged six, John and William - and lived about a mile away. Daughters, Mary and Betsy, were still at home: "[the] Gerls macks hats thes plat 7 stras & 11 stras and I sows them i sowd 100 fefty thes year". Neighbours known in Westerdale were also to be found in local townships: Matthew Smith,

1. Cavan township, Co. Durham, Ontario, 9 miles from Peterborough.
2. Menvers township, Co. Durham, Ontario, 17 miles from Peterborough. By November, 1842, John would have worked three years for a Mr. Sive, earning (in 1842) \$100 p.a.
3. Thomas and Ann had two daughters. Thomas's arduous farm duties permitted only one visit a year to see his mother, but Ann had visited Mrs. Thompson in July, 1842.

William Meed, John Ward(s) and John Agers lived at distances of three, four, four and twenty miles, respectively, and William Eshton and many others were regular visitors.¹ All in all, Elizabeth Thompson's only complaints were:

"...my memery is very bad and i hardly can see for my ies is very week i cant not go round in the Hoos without glasses but i fel thankfoul that i can see too writ eny way and your Brother John has Had hes helth very will but he has very sor ies With boileng potash...."²

Between 1839 and 1860, with the exception of 17 passengers in 1849, Whitby is not represented in

1. These names were all familar in the past in Danby parish, Eskdale. According to Mrs. Thompson, the Canadian representatives were "all douen very will". One gravestone in Westerdale churchyard also notes the death of Mery, the wife of Joseph Breckon, aged 45, in the "River St. Lawrence, North America", in 1842.
2. Elizabeth Thompson, Cavan, U.C., to George Thompson, Westerdale, N. Yorkshire, 30 Sep. 1842: letter transcribed and annotated in W.P. Baker, "How a Yorkshirewoman in Ontario Wrote Home to Westerdale", The Dalesman, XXII, 2 (May 1960), 97-100.

recorded emigrant-arrivals at Quebec.¹ It may be noted, however, that towards the end of the 1840's, some Whitby vessels conveyed Continental passengers direct to North America. In 1847, the Globe (Capt. Smith) sailed from Bremerhaven to Quebec with emigrants, negotiating the Pentland Firth on the 31st May.² The Friends (Capt. Hodgson) sailed with passengers from Hamburg to Quebec in 1849, passing Staxigo on April 26th.³ Stockton vessels also undertook similar voyages in those years. The Watchful (Capt. Smales), on a voyage carrying passengers from Hamburg to Quebec in 1847, called at Scrabster for water on June 19th.⁴ Arriving at New York on 17th June, 1849, the Yorkshire (Capt. Lynas) had sailed from Bremen with emigrants, and had stood off at Dungeness on April 25th.⁵

1. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table IV). Although the years, 1840-41, 44-48, 1850-51, are omitted from this table, Yorkshire press evidence is equally lacking.

2. Hull Advertiser, 11 Jun. 1847.

3. Ibid., 4 May 1849.

4. Ibid., 2 Jul. 1847.

5. Ibid., 4 May, 13 Jul. 1849.

In passing, some brief reference must be made to North American departures from Stockton and Middlesbrough, for, to some extent, when vessels were available, these ports shared the same emigration-hinterland as Whitby. In the 1830's, passengers officially recorded at Quebec from Stockton numbered (years, 1832-35) 132, 233, 192 and 18; and in the 1840's (years, 1842-43, 49), 101, 58 and 46.¹ Yorkshire press references are scarce. In 1843, there is an oblique reference to the Lavinia, a vessel shortly to sail from Middlesbrough for Quebec, and gruesome evidence inferring the murder of an affluent young man about to emigrate by the barque.² In 1849, a ship of 400 tons burth. sailed from Middlesbrough for Canada on April 13th (or perhaps 20th) with 50 persons aboard - a complement almost exactly comparable with the year's total arrivals at Quebec of 46 from the Tees.³ This vessel may well have been the Commodore (Capt. Law, or Low), which sailed with passengers from Stockton, was off the Pentland Firth on April 26th, reached Quebec safely and left for her home port on July 5th.⁴

1. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V).

2. Yorkshire Gazette, 29 Apr. 1843.

3. Ibid., 21 Apr. 1849.

4. Hull Advertiser, 11 May, 3 Aug. 1849.

By comparison with Hull, or even Whitby, emigration by Scarborough was small. Whilst it is true that intending passengers living in the hinterland of Whitby occasionally chose or were obliged to journey southwards in order to embark at Hull for North America, those living to the west and south of Scarborough were permanently in the catchment area of the Humber port. Hull's commercial and overseas interests always exerted a far greater pull on the inhabitants of the Yorkshire Wolds proposing emigration than ever lay within Scarborough's capacity. Yet Scarborough contributed in each of a few scattered years over one hundred passengers to the total of those reaching Quebec, notably in 1828, 1830 and 1852.

"I have just been on the Peir looking at a vessel which is going to Quebec with Passengers", wrote home an apprentice from Scarborough in March, 1828; "there is no less than 130 going, most of them County people, a great many women and children".^{1.} The vessel referred to was undoubtedly the Cybele (Capt. Heckler), which sailed from Scarborough with 132 passengers in early April and reached Quebec safely,

1. Cited by Arthur Rowntree, The History of Scarborough (London, 1931), p.184.

probably in the second half of May.¹ In 1830, a year of high overall emigration from the U.K. to Canada, two vessels carrying batches of 60 and 80 emigrants left the port in the spring for the St. Lawrence.²

During the rest of the 'thirties, however, Hull's overwhelming attraction is evident. In 1831, when no fewer than 2,780 recorded passengers arrived at Quebec from Hull, a nil return was noted for Scarborough (and Shields). The following year, respective totals were 1,288 and 12; in 1833, 655 and 1; and in 1834, 1,171 and 49.³ In 1835, 462 passengers disembarked at Quebec from Hull, and only one from Scarborough, despite the 330-ton snow, Allies (Capt. Foster, or Forster), sailing from the latter on April 6th and reaching her destination on June 8th.⁴ Passenger-arrivals at Quebec from the Humber in 1836 and 1837 numbered 465 and 367, and from Scarborough, 14 and 21.⁵ Passengers left Scarborough by the Elizabeth (Capt. Smith) on 14th July, 1836, arriving September 1st, and by the Centurion

1. Hull Advertiser, 11 Apr., 27 Jun. 1828.

2. Doncaster Gazette, 14 May 1830.

3. Helen I. Cowen, p.291 (Table 1V): in this Table, totals for "Scarborough (& Shields)" are combined.

4. Hull Advertiser, 2 Mar., 10 Apr., 10 Jul. 1835. The Allies was advertised by C.Hill, Long West Gate, Scarborough.

5. Helen I. Cowen, p.291 (Table 1V).

(Capt. Heppenslate, or Heppenstall) on 22nd April, 1837, arriving June 7th.¹ No Scarborough sailings for Quebec were reported in either 1838 or 1839, years of low emigration by Hull.

In the 1840's, 39 and 27 passengers reportedly arrived in the St. Lawrence from Scarborough and Shields in 1842 and 1843.² In the latter year, the barque Europe sailed from Scarborough on April 5th with "about 50 persons, chiefly agricultural labourers and small farmers" on board.³

The 'fifties provided evidence of passenger - conveyance from Scarborough and Shields in only three years, 1852-54, when totals of 121, 13 and 10 were confirmed arrivals at Quebec.⁴ The year, 1852, however, was of unusual interest in the voyage of the Trusty from Scarborough.

1. Hull Advertiser, 22 Jul., 7 Oct. 1836;
Hull Packet, 28 Apr., 14 Jul. 1837.
2. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V).
3. Halifax Guardian, 15 Apr. 1843.
4. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V).

The previous year, 1851, had witnessed extensive emigration to North America from Scarborough's hinterland: some thirty persons had left Pickering, and about forty or fifty others, Seamer, at the beginning of April.

"Some hundreds of people" were preparing to quit the "street towns" between Kirkby Moorside and Scarborough; and "the heads of the families are chiefly the best labourers found in the different parishes, who go to America because they have not remunerative work at home".^{1.} Much as the intending emigrant would have wished to embark at Scarborough in the spring of 1851, he was obliged either to travel southwards, joining the hundreds streaming from Driffeld and the Wolds, to Hull, or to cross the country to Liverpool. On the evidence of this, and the continuing widespread interest in emigration near Scarborough in early 1852, the owners of the Trusty doubtless felt justified in providing some convenience for local passengers and ensuring some profit for themselves.^{2.}

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 5 Apr. 1851.

2. The 1,032 passenger-arrivals at Quebec in 1852 from Hull would still include some emigrants from the area west of Scarborough.

By the third week of April, about one hundred passengers from Scarborough and neighbouring villages had reserved accommodation in the Trusty. Each adult passenger would be provided with weekly rations of 21 quarts of water, 6 lb. flour (or oatmeal), 2 lb. rice, $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bread, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. treacle and 2 oz. tea. For their part, passengers were to provide bedding, kegs or bottles (for the daily water allowance), knives, forks, spoons, hook pots and plates. Luggage, clearly marked with the passenger's name, was to be stowed aboard the day before intended departure (May 8th); and an inventory of the contents of each box was to be retained by the owner. Berths could be chosen after May 1st. Some accommodation was still available for eight cabin passengers (at 10 gns. per head), fifteen intermediate passengers (at 5 gns.) and twenty steerage passengers (at £4.10s.).^{1.}

On schedule, the barque Trusty (365 tons burth.; Capt. Foster) sailed out of Scarborough harbour for Quebec on Saturday evening, 8th May, and two days later

1. E.C.H., 22, 29 Apr. 1852; Hull News, 24 Apr. 1852; Leeds Mercury, 24 Apr. 1852; Hull Advertiser, 30 Apr. 1852.

was cleared and in the roads. The owners, Messrs. Fowlers and Mosey, were certainly vindicated in their decision to provide the vessel: a full complement of 130 or so emigrants was aboard, "and thousands of persons visited the vessel prior to her leaving..."^{1.} Most of the passengers were agricultural labourers, their wives and families, from the neighbouring villages of Cayton, Staxton, Sherburn, Ayton (E. and W.), Flixton, Heslerton (E. and W.) and Gristhorpe.^{2.} The exodus of "so many of our peasantry" led, as in the case of the Wolds' emigrations by Hull, to a demand for labour and the granting of improved agricultural wages later that summer.^{3.}

The Trusty's transatlantic passage appears to have been uneventful, but on nearing the mouth of the St. Lawrence, disaster struck. Land was sighted near Cape Gaspé on June 22nd, when a course was shaped to the northward. The following morning, however, dense fog enveloped the ship; and despite great care, she eventually struck on a reef of rocks about 6.0 p.m. inside Ship Head, Gaspé Bay, where she quickly filled

1. The Trusty's complement is quoted variously as 130, 134 and "about 150 emigrants".
2. E.C.H., 13 May 1852; Hull Advertiser, 14 May 1852; Hull News, 15 May 1852; Leeds Mercury, 15 May 1852. At least 40 emigrants were due to proceed to Toronto from Quebec.
3. E.C.H., 12 Aug. 1852; Hull News, 14 Aug. 1852; Leeds Mercury, 24, 31 Jul., 7 Aug. 1852.

and settled. Certain aspects of the calamity are now confused. One description indicates that, against the master's orders, one of the boats containing about twenty persons was lowered and cut away from the ship; and in attempting to reach the shore, the boat quickly capsized in the heavy surf and all its occupants were drowned. Another report, by David White (the brother of G. White, draper, of Scarborough), states that the passengers of the Trusty remained on board until the following morning when a number of men and women were put on shore. At this point, the sea began to run very high, and in trying to land, two boats were broken and the longboat sunk. As the last was being lowered from the vessel, one of the ropes by which she was attached at the stern slipped, and her occupants flung out. One end of the boat went down, filled and sank. White himself was able to seize the rope connecting the boat with the Trusty and was saved along with two others.

In all eighteen persons were drowned.^{1.} Those on the wreck remained in great peril for about eight hours, with waves sweeping over the decks. At length, the survivors were taken off by three schooners and landed safely at Quebec after "a very boisterous voyage". Reports also conflict about the luggage: one notes that all or most of the passengers' effects were saved, another that all belongings were lost. The bodies of Thomas Burton, Matthew Taylor, John Dickenson and two others, unnamed, were recovered and interred locally after a simple sermon. In Scarborough, a memorial service was held at the Independent Chapel in early August.^{2.}

1. Persons drowned were:

Passengers: Thomas Blake, David Sanderson, John Dickenson, William Brown, David Hudson (or Hodgson), John Atkinson, Thomas Shaw, William and Thomas Stellings, Thomas Winteringham, Stephen Bullock, Joseph Crosby, Robert Heald.

Crew: Matthew Taylor (seaman), Wright Banks (cook), Thomas Burton (boy), Robert Yates (boy), Frank Francis (boy).

2. Scarborough Gazette, 22, 29 Jul., 5 Aug. 1852;
Hull Advertiser, 23, 30 Jul., 6 Aug. 1852;
Yorkshire Gazette, 24 Jul. 1852; E.C.H., 29 Jul.,
12 Aug. 1852; Hull News, 14 Aug. 1852.

It would be tempting to suggest that the loss of the Trusty cast an immediate blight on attempts to continue the promotion of emigration by Scarborough. Before her departure in May, "from the fact of no expense or pains having been spared to render the ship safe and comfortable to the passengers", ran one report, it is not improbable that the Trusty may, next spring [1853], make another trip from this port with emigrants".¹ In 1853 and 1854, only 13 and 10 passengers arrived at Quebec from Scarborough and Shields; and even these emigrants probably sailed from the Tyne.² The reason for Scarborough's failure to establish herself as a regular emigration port was far more fundamental than the loss of one vessel, tragic as this was at the time. The years, 1851-52, were high points of emigration from the 'spring-line' villages along the northern and southern margins of the Vale of Pickering,

1. E.C.H., 13 May 1852.

2. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V). No further passengers from "Scarborough (& Shields)" are noted in the years, 1855-60.

as indeed was true of the surge from the Wolds' settlements.¹ From 1853 onwards, emigration from Scarborough's rural hinterland was on the ebb; and there was no encouragement to provide special passenger accommodation from the port when only relatively few labourers and their families were leaving the area to embark at Hull and Liverpool. After the peak of 1854, when 1,073 passengers arrived in Quebec from Hull, even the latter witnessed a steady decline in transatlantic passenger returns until final extinction was reached in 1860.²

1. High emigration in 1851-52 from north Lincolnshire, though chiefly attracted to Hull, also encouraged the accommodation of passengers by Messrs. Keetley and Chapman aboard their vessel, Anthracite, at Grimsby. This ship (Capt. Harris) reached Quebec on 3rd or 4th May, 1852, after a safe passage from Grimsby of only thirty days. On April 27th (presumably south of Newfoundland or in the Gulf of St. Lawrence), the Anthracite saved the passengers (27) and crew (11) of the berque Olive Branch (of Stockton), which had foundered within fifteen minutes of striking ice. On the return voyage, the Anthracite carried the almost inevitable cargo of timber and deals to her charterers, Messrs. Wintringham and Bennett, timber merchants, of Grimsby. Keetley and Chapman did not repeat their North American experiment the following year, for on 26th March, 1853, the Anthracite sailed from Grimsby for Port Philip and Melbourne, Australia (E.C.H., 27 May 1852, 31 Mar. 1853; Hull Advertiser, 28 May 1852; Hull News, 29 May 1852).

2. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V).

PART 3. YORKSHIRE TEXTILE EMIGRATION.

1. WOOL MERCHANTS, MANUFACTURERS & CLOTH TRADERS.

(a) 1760-1783.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the typical picture of man-power in the Yorkshire woollen textile industry was not the clothier and wage-earning weaver as in the West of England, or the rich clothier and domestic spinner and weaver as in East Anglia, but the small working clothier who owned the loom, on which he worked, and the material, the product of his labour.¹ In the West Country, the clothier's chief function was trading; and his personal responsibility lay not in manufacturing, but in supervising the manufacture by others of yarn and cloth at all stages. The East Anglian woollen industry was similar in many respects to the West Country model: rich clothiers bought the fine long wools of the Lincolnshire and Leicestershire breeds of sheep and distributed them to the village homes of spinners and weavers.

1. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London, 1965), pp.270-74; Wilfred Smith, An Economic Geography of Great Britain (London, 1949), p.84.

Wool was made into many different types of cloth, falling broadly into two divisions: worsteds and woollens. Worsteds were produced from long wools, and were generally dyed before being woven. Woollens were made from short wools, and required fulling after they had been woven.^{1.} Serges were made with long-wool warps and short-wool wefts, broadcloths from best short wools, heavily fulled, so that when finished, the weave pattern was quite invisible, and baizes and kerseys, which were rough, loose fabrics, requiring little fulling, were produced from short wools. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Yorkshire produced chiefly woollens of inferior quality to West Country cloth and a few worsteds inferior to those of Norfolk.

The West Riding cloth producer was not a wealthy capitalist, the classical picture continues, but a workman who sold his cloth one week to buy the raw material for the next week's work. He purchased his raw wool from the stapler, and sorted and combed it himself. His wife and children usually spun the yarn with the help of neighbours. He did his own weaving with the help of his wife and perhaps one or two apprentices. If a woollen broadcloth or kersey had been

1. The fuller beat the cloth in water mixed with soap or fuller's earth: the cloth shrank and the fibres felted together, giving the material a smoother, better finish.

woven, the clothier, or the merchant to whom he sold the cloth, would then take the piece to the fuller.^{1.} Originally the production of cloth in the West Riding was small, but in the seventeenth century, weekly markets were held. In the early years of the following century, cloth halls were established in the main towns,^{2.} and the products of small Yorkshire clothiers were sold to local retailers, foreigners and agents of distant buyers. Elements in the general picture of Yorkshire woollen production were that because clothiers required little capital and their output of cloth was relatively small, it was easy for a man to succeed as a clothier; that conditions were not so bad that friction between master and man was common; and that the Yorkshire clothier was usually also a farmer, weaving in his spare time.

Whilst this portrayal was probably true of much of the Riding's woollen production, there is evidence to suggest that the West Yorkshire worsted industry was

1. Broadcloths and kerseys had been made in West Yorkshire since the fifteenth century (Smith, An Economic Geography..., p.436). At least as early as the mid-fourteenth century, a regular cloth-fulling activity was established on the site of the Dewsbury Mills, on the River Calder, two miles south of Dewsbury (Frederick J. Glover, "A Yorkshire blanketmaker's diary", B.T.S.J., 1962-63, 84).
2. Cloth halls were established in Halifax, 1708, Wakefield, 1710, and in Leeds, 1711. A larger cloth hall was built in Leeds, 1755.

organised from the first by big clothiers who arranged their production sectionally.¹ Samuel Hill, of Making Place, Soyland, near Ripponden, one of the largest clothiers of his day, was transacting £30,000 worth of business annually in the early part of the eighteenth century and was dispatching his cloth, woven in hillside cottages, at the rate of three hundred pieces a week.² The same clothier in 1738 was able to send two hundred full-worsted shalloons to London in one consignment, and two weeks later could send a further two hundred.³ Nevertheless, the large capitalist clothier was more common in the West Country and East Anglia.⁴

Dating from at least the early years of the eighteenth century, overseas markets played a steadily

1. W. Smith, An Economic Geography....., pp.84, 436, 441; H. Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries (1920), pp.296-98. The Yorkshire worsted manufacture on any appreciable scale only dates back to the late seventeenth century.
2. Frank Atkinson & Ben Claughton, "An eighteenth-century woollen and worsted pattern book", B.T.S.J., 1955-56, 71.
3. H. Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries, p.298; W. Smith, An Economic Geography....., p.78.
4. W. Smith, An Economic Geo,graphy...., pp.78, 83.

increasing part in the consumption of British woollen and worsted fabrics.^{1.} Many European countries, such as Spain, Portugal and Holland, purchased finished piece-goods from Britain.^{2.} The 'Book of Patterns', assembled about 1770 by Richard Hill, son of Samuel Hill, of Soyland, was dedicated "To His much esteemed friend Mr. Francis Becquerel of Boulogne Sur-mer, Merch^t."; and within its pages were pasted samples of 'Honley Plains' for export to Italy, and a twill cloth with glazed finish, mainly in bright shades, for export to Turkey, by way of St. Petersburg.^{3.}

But by far the most important overseas market for British woollen and worsted fabrics was found in the North American colonies, an importance which was to continue for at least half-a-century after the American Revolution. Despite the variably increasing friction between Britain and her American possessions in the years after 1763, the thirteen colonies together bought about one-fifth of Britain's total woollen exports

1. G.D.H. Cole & Raymond Postgate, The Common People, 1746-1946 (London, 1961), p.62. J.R. McCulloch, A Dictionary...of Commerce and Commercial Navigation (London, 1834), p.1265, notes that as early as 1700-01 the official value of woollens exported (from England and Wales) amounted to about £3,000,000 a year.
2. H. Heaton, "Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade", J.E.B.H., II, 1, Nov. 1929, 146.
3. F. Atkinson & B. Claughton, "An eighteenth-century... pattern book", B.T.S.J. 1955-56, 71-72.

in 1772, one-seventh in 1773 and one-sixth in 1774. The collapse of trade in 1775 proved ruinous to the coarse wool manufacturers of West Yorkshire and to the superfine clothmakers of the West Country. Even so, trade in general, and woollen exports in particular, to the new United States recovered rapidly with the end of the Revolutionary War.^{1.}

The Anglo-American cloth trade was effected in three major ways - by American merchants, by English merchants, and, especially in the case of West Yorkshire, by manufacturing-merchants (with variations). From the early years of the eighteenth century, an important native-born merchant class had established itself in the northern ports of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. American merchants initiated import and export business either as owners or commission merchants. American merchants sent cloth orders to merchants or agents in Liverpool, London, Bristol and Leeds: they often crossed the Atlantic on regular visits to their English suppliers; or one of the American partners might live in England.^{2.}

1. J. Bischoff, Comprehensive History of the Woollen and Worsted Manufactures (1842), I, pp.176, 329: cited by H. Heaton, "Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade", J.E.B.H., II, 1, Nov. 1929, 146; H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States, 1770-1840", Thoresby Soc. Pubs. Miscell., XXXVII, iii (Apr. 1944), 226-27.
2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States....," 227.

In the reverse direction, English merchants not only shipped goods ordered by American clients, but also at times consigned goods on their own account and at their own risk to American commission merchants or agents. English cloth merchants appointed agents to handle their goods and to solicit orders, and often visited America themselves to observe the market at first hand. Alternatively, a member of the firm, frequently the youngest, crossed the Atlantic to live in America as an overseas partner. This residence might be of a relatively temporary nature, lasting only a few years, before the partner returned to England, to be replaced by an even younger member of the firm. The partner's residence in the American colonies (and later in the United States), however, might be permanent: naturalisation papers were taken out and the merchant in time became truly American, yet at the same time representing the interests and remaining a member of the English firm. Such a merchant often usually developed other interests in America for and by himself, or with other partners. Some English merchants from the first set out for North America with the prime intentions of staying there permanently and setting themselves up in business.^{1.}

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders....", 227-28.

Side by side with the cloth trade initiated and undertaken by orthodox American and English merchants, there gradually evolved during the eighteenth century a new breed of merchant - the West Riding clothier who not only manufactured his cloth, but who also sallied forth independently to sell his cloth at home and abroad. The standard picture of the domestic clothier in the Riding has already been sketched, that of the workman weaving his one or two pieces of broadcloth or kersey a week and taking the fruits of his and the family's efforts to the local cloth market for sale. Merchants then purchased pieces at the cloth market, and having them finished, consigned them to London or overseas to meet orders. Some Yorkshire clothiers, however, greatly increased their weekly output by engaging the services of many neighbouring weavers, a development often stimulated by some merchants placing orders directly with the clothier rather than relying on supplies afforded by local markets. Just as some merchants bypassed the cloth markets in their dealings with clothiers, so some of the larger clothiers, after commissioning their pieces to be finished, began to bypass the merchants by setting out to sell their own cloth at home and abroad.^{1.} The permutations of the Yorkshire cloth trade were further extended by

1. The clothiers, Samuel Hill and his son Richard, of Soyland, exemplified aspects of all these developments.

some merchants who, rather than buy pieces in the cloth hall or order directly from the clothier, began to organise cloth production. The merchant might also produce his own cloth to supplement those pieces bought in the market or commissioned from the clothier.^{1.} This two-way equation of the clothier becoming a merchant, and the merchant becoming a manufacturer, was certainly occurring before the 1770's.

The American market doubtless appeared very attractive to the Yorkshire clothier-manufacturer who not only wanted to extend his operations beyond the local cloth hall or merchant, but also wished to reap the rewards of overseas enterprise. The small clothier might consign his goods to an agent or to an auctioneer who after the sale would submit the net returns to the producer. The larger clothier, however, might follow the pattern already established by the orthodox English merchant: he might send his partner or brother to America, temporarily or permanently, as sales-promoter for his cloth, thereby often avoiding the expensive services of merchandising middlemen. The Yorkshire cloth trade, therefore, might well be represented in Boston, New York and Philadelphia by the partner or brother of an orthodox Yorkshire merchant or of a Yorkshire manufacturer-turned-merchant.^{2.}

1. The celebrated Benjamin Gott, of Leeds, fell into the latter category.

2. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders...", 228-30.

Merchants and manufacturers of all types concerned with the Yorkshire wool trade suffered in the many depressed years - and benefited in the fewer boom years - of the period between the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763¹ and the outbreak of the War of Independence at Lexington-Concord in April 1775. War requirements, particularly in the form of uniforms and blankets, declined in 1762 and disappeared with the Treaty of Paris the following year. Even more, growing colonial resentment, with temporary apparent mollifications, closely paralleled the hardships, and equally temporary improvements, encountered by the Yorkshire wool trade. In 1764, with trade bad and the National Debt doubled, Grenville set himself to enforcing the custom duties of the mercantile system: the molasses duty was halved, but a fleet of revenue cutters was established to prevent smuggling and to enforce payment of this and other duties. One American response to the Stamp Act passed in 1765 was to boycott English goods and to live as far as possible on colonial products, not least woollen cloth. Colonial protests raised against these and other British measures in 1764-65 not only exacerbated the post-war depression, but also gained the support of many British merchants, especially those concerned with American trade and its financial indebtedness. Leeds

1. The French and Indian War in North America.

merchants were prominent in petitioning Parliament about their distress.^{1.}

The repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 by the Rockingham administration, occasioned partly by mercantile agitation but mainly by the impossibility of enforcing the measure in the colonies, led to the re-opening of the American market and brought joy to the hearts of Yorkshire wool merchants.^{2.}

Ambitious plans for developing the colonial cloth market were promoted. Yorkshire merchants or their agents sailed westwards to renew contacts and encourage their cloth business. The young John J. Glover was sent out to New York for the first time in 1768 as agent to Emanuel Elam, a member of the Quaker merchant family of Leeds, to replace an American earlier handling the business.^{3.}

Yorkshire euphoria, however, was soon overtaken by events. Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Pitt-Grafton coalition, which had replaced the

1. Leeds Intelligencer, 4 Feb. 1766.
2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders...", 230-31, notes that the number of broadcloths milled in the West Riding rose from 55,000 pieces in 1765 to 74,000 in 1776, and to 102,000 in 1767; and that British manufactures imported by New York which had declined by one-third in the years, 1764-66, recovered their former position in 1767-68.
3. Ibid., 231, citing V.D. Harrington, The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution (New York, 1935), pp.186-87. For the transatlantic Quaker connexion in general, the following is of interest: A.T. Gary, "The Political and Economic Relations of English and American Quakers (1750-85)", D.Phil.degree thesis, St. Hugh's College, Oxford, 1935, esp. pp.226-34.

Rockingham Ministry, imposed import duties on items such as tea, paper, paint, glass and lead, in 1767. American opposition was revived in the form of non-importation, boycotts and violence; and consequently, large quantities of cloth ordered during the recent revival of trade could not be consigned until the duties were repealed.^{1.} Once again, colonial resistance and British mercantile agitation led to the repeal of nearly all the Townshend duties (save that on tea) in 1770. The spirit of reconciliation was beginning to prevail, albeit only temporarily, as subsequent events were to prove. American merchants improved their financial position by exporting large quantities of primary commodities such as wheat and potash, and they were able to pay off some of the old debts. Moreover, on both sides of the Atlantic, post-war depression had gradually disappeared, and general prosperity ensued between 1770 and 1772.^{2.}

1. Leeds Intelligencer, 7 Mar. 1769.

2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders...", 232, again notes that the number of broadcloths milled in the West Riding rose from 93,000 pieces in 1770 to 120,000 in 1773; the value of British manufactured goods sent to New York rose from £65,000 in 1769 to £552,000 in 1771.

In Leeds, "the account of the inhabitants of New York having agreed to the importation of goods from England^{1.} was received...by our American merchants^{2.} with great pleasure; since when, great quantities of cloth have been sent down to Hull, in order to be shipt for the above place".^{3.}

Vessels were therefore laid on at Hull to cope with the recovery in trade, though not all sailed for New York. The Lord Clive, for instance, was due to sail from Hull for Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina at the beginning of July 1770 with goods and passengers;^{4.} and towards the end of September, the sloop Recovery, Stanton Hazard, master, was to leave Hull for Newport, Rhode Island.^{5.} For both vessels, the Elams were the West Riding agents -

1. That is, after the repeal of most of the Townshend duties.
2. That is, Leeds merchants trading with America.
3. Leeds Intelligencer, 21 Aug. 1770.
4. York Courant, 15 May, 5, 12, 26 Jun. 1770; Leeds Intelligencer, 22 May, 1770. The Lord Clive was advertised for a repeat sailing in 1771 (Leeds Intelligencer, 2 Jul. 1771).
5. Leeds Intelligencer, 28 Aug. 1770.

for the Lord Clive, "Mr. John Elam and Son, Merchants in Leeds", and for the Recovery, "Mr. Samuel Elam in Leeds".¹

Wool fabrics, shepherded by Yorkshire merchants and their agents, were freighted to the colonies in great quantities during the prosperous years, 1770-72; but, thereafter, until the clash of arms in 1775, quantities exported gradually fell. Whilst merchants and agents intending to settle permanently in America in these years were relatively few in number compared with the many craftsmen and agriculturalists, their importance and influence must not be underestimated. One feature of the years, 1770-72, reflected the increasing interest of provincial, as opposed to London, merchants and manufacturers in undertaking colonial trade. Prior to 1763, the export trade to the colonies was dominated by London merchants, and in 1762-64, only some 13 per cent

1. For the Kitty (Capt. John Collins), sailing from Hull for Virginia in August 1771, the Leeds agents were Samuel Mirfield and Son (Leeds Intelligencer, 16 Jul. 1771).

of British manufactures were conveyed through the outports to New York. By 1765-69, the proportion of outport trade averaged 26 per cent, and in 1770-72, this had risen to 45 per cent.¹

The general conditions for emigration in the five pre-Revolutionary years were similar for both merchant and artisan. In 1770-72, with business flourishing in Yorkshire and commercial opportunities beckoning in the colonies, both trader and emigrant would expect to succeed overseas. In 1772-73, with business sluggish on both sides of the Atlantic, emigration would be a less exciting prospect. Thereafter, a steadily deteriorating political situation and non-importation policies in the colonies, producing, in turn, deep depression in the Yorkshire wool-manufacturing districts, led many to choose the lesser of two evils by emigrating.² Instead of suffering to no avail at home, it was better to tackle the opportunities offered overseas. The following is typical of several Yorkshire press reports in 1774:

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders....", 232.

2. Ibid., 235.

"Several Families in Leeds and that Neighbourhood, some of them of considerable Property, are disposing of their Effects, in order to Emigrate to America, finding it next to impossible, in the present lamentable State of Trade and Dearness of Provisions, to provide for their Families in this Country".^{1.}

Doubtless some Yorkshire merchants also decided to investigate their declining commercial fortunes in America at first hand. Others probably believed that, despite the portents of 1773-74, worthwhile trading opportunities were still to be found in the colonies and that colonial opposition and non-importation, though troublesome, would prove no more than a transitory phase and would pass as in 1760 and 1770. With the outbreak of war in 1775, however, the door was closed to both emigration and Anglo-American trade. One Yorkshire manufacturer, probably benefiting from war orders in late-1775, expressed optimism. "Though the American ports are shut up and no goods sent thither", he wrote from Shibden Hall,

1. York Courant, 24 May 1774; and an almost identical report in York Chronicle, 20 May 1774.

"yet our trade and manufactures are as good and brisk as ever they were known to be".^{1.}

The years 1770-74 provide many significant examples of Yorkshiremen attempting to turn transatlantic trade to their advantage by becoming temporary or permanent settlers in America, or by merchants sending agents as their representatives on a similar basis of settlement. Articles of agreement, for instance, were signed, 2nd September 1771, between Wigglesworth, Kent & Co., of Leeds, woollen merchants, and Thomas Gumersall, who was to go to America as their agent.^{2.} Similarly, William Nelson, a 37-year old Yorkshire cloth manufacturer, sailed from Hull for Norfolk, Virginia, in mid-July 1774 in the Kingston Packet in order "To transact business for two merchants".^{3.}

1. James Lister, Halifax, to (brother) Ensign Jeremy Lister, Boston, Mass., 9 Nov. 1775 (Jeremy Lister Letters and MSS, JL 46).
2. Carr MSS, 1771-83 (CA), vol. 1.
3. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIV (Jan.1910), 23-24 (week, 10-17 Jul. 1774).

In May 1772, an indenture of partnership was drawn up and signed between two merchants - John Ackroyd, of Leeds, and Thomas Swaine, of Halifax - who "propose going to America and settling [as] Merchants in some convenient part thereof, as shall be mutually agreed upon by and between them... and to carry on the said business... in the Joynt names" as "Co-partners and Joynt Traders" for seven years. Each man agreed to contribute £500 in money and goods; and each was free to add more to improve the enterprise, receiving $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest per annum on additional investment. The rights and obligations of the two men were very clearly defined, also the procedure to be adopted in case of death.¹

1. Cited by H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 232-33. Prof. Heaton also notes that the document, signed in Leeds, was found among papers of William Pollard, of Halifax, who probably left for Philadelphia ca. 1770. In 1791, Pollard was granted a patent (signatories: Washington and Jefferson) for his improvements in 'a machine for spinning cotton'.

John J. Glover's earlier mission to New York in 1768 to represent Emanuel Elam, of Leeds, has already been noted.¹ Glover, now aged 28, and described as "a merchant" and a member of the firm of Elam and Glover, again sailed for New York towards the end of February 1774 in the Earl Dunmore from London, in order "to settle".² On the evidence available, it would seem that Glover had earned his spurs earlier and that now, as a full partner, he was about to fulfil the American end of the business on a permanent basis. Certainly he was occupied in that role in 1791;³ and when he died in New York in December 1824, his fortune reportedly amounted to nearly £200,000.⁴ By

1. V.D. Harrington, The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution, pp.186-87.
2. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Jan.1909), 22 (week, 20-27 Feb. 1774).
3. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States....," 243.
4. Hull Advertiser, 11 Feb. 1825; Yorkshire Gazette, 12 Feb. 1825; Hull Rockingham, 12 Feb. 1825. In the obituary, it is also noted that Glover first left England "as agent to the late Mr. S. Elam", and that on his death, presumably at the age of about 78, he left a family of three sons and nine daughters.

coincidence, Joseph Elam, a "Gentleman" aged 50, and perhaps of the same Leeds family, sailed from Hull for Norfolk, Va., in the Kington Packet in July 1774.¹

John J. Glover was by no means the only Yorkshire merchant going to America "to trade" in 1774. William Shakespear, aged 40, sailed in the Lydia from Liverpool on 8th March bound for Philadelphia, and William Walker, aged 37, in the Polly from the same port for South Carolina later that month.² Towards the end of May, no fewer than six Yorkshire merchants sailed together aboard the Cato from Liverpool for New York: John and William Heywood (aged 27 and 29), John Higson (43), Richard Hornsell (25), Henry Swanton (36) and Robert Smith (32).³ Two Yorkshire 'clothiers', recorded as sailing for America in 1774, were probably

1. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIV (Jan.1910), 23-24 (week, 10-17 Jul.1774). Joseph Elam's stated reason for emigrating was that he was going "To purchase [an estate] or return".
2. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Apr.1909), 141 (week 7-14 Mar. 1774); (Jul. 1909), 236 (week, 21-28 Mar. 1774).
3. Ibid., LXIII (Oct.1909), 353-54 (week, 24-31 May 1774).

small, domestic clothiers rather than clothiers-turned-merchants for they were planning to stay abroad permanently, using their manufacturing skills incidentally. Samuel Harrison, aged 41, his wife Elizabeth, and their four children, sailed from London in June for Philadelphia in the Free Mason; and John Willman, aged 43, left Hull for New York in the America in August 1774.¹ Perhaps conversely, the Yorkshireman Samuel Hawbridge (aged 40), described as a 'mercier', sailed with his wife Jane (39), aboard the York Packet from Liverpool, destination New York, in March 1774, in order "to trade".² One former Leeds resident, John Wetherhead, "now in the City of New York in North America, Merchant", diversified his activities to include land speculation. His advertisement in February 1775 announced that he was "a principal proprietor of several considerable Tracts of uncultivated Land in the Province of New York; one of the largest of which Tracts consists of 46,000

1. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIV (Jan. 1910), 19 (week, 14-21 Jun. 1774); (Apr. 1910), 110 (week, 7-14 Aug. 1774).
2. Ibid., LXIII (Apr. 1909), 144 (week, 14-21 Mar. 1774).

acres of Land, erected into a Township called Blenheim, by Letters Patent from the King..."; and that he wanted to settle forty or fifty Yorkshire families there, the sale price being 6s.0d. stg. per acre.^{1.}

The expanding business of the Crowther family of Gomersal in the years leading up to the American Revolution affords clear illustration of a Yorkshire clothier going far beyond the classical role of the small craftsman producing a few pieces a week for the local market.^{2.} It is true that George Crowther at first took his cloths to Leeds White Cloth Hall from his production centre at Poplar Farm, Gomersal. Orders were obtained at market to supply pieces of certain specifications at a given price. But Crowther was obviously far from satisfied with this limited scale of operations. He went out of his way to obtain recognition by firms in London, Liverpool and Glasgow which supplied large home and overseas markets, and he often visited the capital, North of England ports and Scotland. He, and frequently a commercial traveller, hunted for orders.

1. Leeds Intelligencer, 21 Feb. 1775.

2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 236-37, notes that George Crowther and his partner, Obadiah Porritt, were described as 'clothiers in Gomersal'; then, in 1771, Crowther was a 'clothworker', Porritt, a 'clothier'. The two men were subsequently noted as 'Merchants and Copartners', with mail addressed to 'George Crowther, Merchant'.

He encouraged firms to mail their orders and send their representatives to Gomersal; and when customers required cloths not made by himself, Crowther supplied their demands by buying from others. Not only had George Crowther a London bank account for his business, but a brother, William - though apparently only of minor assistance - also worked for a London merchant-banker. William's secondary role was that of soliciting merchants to send cloth orders to Yorkshire.

Benjamin Crowther, the third brother in the Gomersal family, holds perhaps the greatest interest in this study. Benjamin's early commercial experience was gained by travelling in the North of England and Scotland to obtain on behalf of the home base orders for kerseys, blankets, bearskins, coatings and duffels.¹ During one of his frequent visits to Glasgow and Greenock, the young Benjamin Crowther met George Parker. Two of the Parker brothers ran a business in Glasgow, while George, like many other Scottish merchant-partners and factors, had gone to North Carolina to foster trade. Fortunately for the

1. Duffel or duffil was a coarse woollen cloth having a thick nap or frieze; its name was derived from Duffel, a town in Brabant near Antwerp. The name is still used in 'duffel (or duffle) coat'.

aspirations of the Crowther family, Benjamin's encounter with George Parker in Glasgow in 1771 was on one of the latter's relatively spasmodic visits to Scotland, for with a wife and family in Wilmington, his trading sphere now included North Carolina, Newfoundland, the West Indies, London and Glasgow. By chance, many Gomersal cloths were included in the large cargo being prepared by Parker, and Crowther was offered the opportunity of going to America. An agreement to this end was made by which Benjamin was to serve George Parker for two years in return for a small wage, meat, drink, washing and lodging, and most important, a training in American commercial methods. Benjamin was also permitted to take with him bales of cloth belonging to George Crowther and any other Gomersal consignor who wished to take advantage of the offer.¹

Sailing from Leith in March 1772 and arriving in Boston the following month, George Parker could scarcely have chosen a less auspicious time for introducing Benjamin Crowther to the American trade. Trading in Boston was difficult and the slump of 1772 meant that high quality Yorkshire cloth was being sold there at less than cost price. George Parker soon

1. Walker & Frost, at least, also consigned bales of cloth.

returned to Glasgow on learning that the London bank dealing with the Parker brothers' business had failed, and with its collapse had almost brought down his own firm. Benjamin Crowther, however, went on to Wilmington, N.C., Parker's American home and base, accompanied by his unsold cloths and some Negro slaves belonging to Parker. Crowther was also charged with the heavy duty of letting or selling Parker's estate if a tenant or purchaser could be found, doubtless so that the proceeds would help the home firm in its hour of need. From Boston, Benjamin had written in February 1773: "I am soon leaving from Carolina. I should not now be the least afraid of going to the most distant part of the known world, provi'd that business call'd me". On arrival in North Carolina, he found that 'business' there was fraught with as many difficulties, but he was able to barter Walker & Frost's cloths for rum, indigo and deerskins. He returned with these to Boston and sailed for Scotland aboard one of Parker's ships, but his adventures were prolonged when the vessel was wrecked in the Orkneys; he was stranded there for eight weeks until picked up and did not arrive in Leith until December 1773. The rum, indigo and deerskins were saved and Gomersal received some financial return on its outlay.

In the spring of 1774, Benjamin Crowther, undismayed by his initial American experiences, sailed westwards again. He was soon once more in North Carolina and successfully imported a cargo of cloths and other items into the colony two days before the importation of British goods was banned. Local merchants expressed great interest in samples of Gomersal cloths and large orders were promised, on two conditions, as soon as Anglo-American hostility ended: namely that the cloths supplied by George Crowther in Yorkshire should be on at least as good terms as those supplied by way of Bristol or London; and that Yorkshire textiles should be paid for in Carolina tar.^{1.}

1. Cf. Susanna Lister's suggestion to her brother-in-law Samuel Lister, of Shibden Hall, Halifax, some thirty years earlier that the debt owed to Samuel by her late husband, William, be paid for in tar, pitch, turpentine and deerskins, preferably the first, which could be loaded on board ship at New Bern, N.C. (John Lewis, Upper Appomattox, Va., to Samuel Lister, Halifax, 19 Jul. 1746; Susanna Lister, Neuse River, N.C., to Samuel Lister, Halifax, 15 Sep. 1746: in Lister MSS - LL 49,50).

Possible trading plans were of necessity left in abeyance, however, with the outbreak of hostilities. Benjamin Crowther left Carolina and visited Madeira, and Jamaica and the West Indies, before returning to Leith. His sustained efforts to sell Yorkshire cloth, to obtain debts owed to his brother George, and to make representations on behalf of the Parkers, in all these places, achieved little more than moderate success for Gomersal.^{1.}

The enterprise shown by West Riding merchants and manufacturers prior to the War of Independence was interrupted by the outbreak of open hostilities. But these several years of conflict, viewed in the long term, represented no more than a short pause in Anglo-American trade in general, and in the transatlantic export of Yorkshire textiles in particular. The years before 1775 formed but the prelude to even greater Yorkshire endeavour and success after 1783.

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States.....", 236-40.

(b) 1783-1814.

With an advent of peace in 1783, the West Riding textile industry immediately set about re-establishing and increasing its markets in North America. Except for a brief relapse in 1785-86, trade in the post-revolutionary period recovered rapidly, and by 1790, about 30 per cent, or nearly £1,500,000 in value, of exported British woollen and worsted fabrics went to the infant United States. By 1799-1800, this figure had risen to 40 per cent, valued at over £2,800,000.^{1.}

The most immediate post-war problem for Yorkshire manufacturers and merchants was to secure the payment of debts incurred by American merchants before 1775. Even during the years of conflict, a few Yorkshire merchants were fortunate enough to retrieve some of these debts. In 1775, Samuel Elam, of Leeds, for instance, had seventeen colonial debtors, and within two years, four of these had paid in full: by 1784, four more had almost repaid, and two had paid over half their total debt;

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States..." 227; "Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade", 147.

only six had paid less than half and one had paid nothing.^{1.}

By no means all Yorkshire creditors were as fortunate as Samuel Elam. If by 1783, an American debtor had failed to clear his obligations, he received a statement of his original debt, grossed up to include interest and insurance since 1775; and if there was still tardiness in payment, either an American agent was appointed with powers to extract as much recompense as possible from the debtor, or a Yorkshire agent or mercantile partner sailed to investigate the situation at first hand. In 1786, Alexander Hamilton, destined to become Secretary of the U.S. Treasury in 1790, was given powers to recover the debts of Jeremiah Dixon and Richard Lee, partners and merchants in Leeds. The Leeds merchants, William Smithson and Richard Greaves, in 1784, placed their problem of American indebtedness in the hands of a New York agent; and subsequently they received information that one debtor could pay less than 50 per cent of his original debt, without interest, and another could pay nothing.^{2.}

1. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 240.

2. Ibid., 241.

From the Yorkshire end, in 1783, Cornelius Buck, of Bradford, was given at least two roles to perform in the United States. It was agreed that he would go as agent for the 'assignees of Ellis' to deal with debts owed to their estate.¹ John Taylor, merchant of Greet Gomersal, also appointed Buck his factor or agent "for vending of all such Woollen Cloths, Costings, Naps, Frizes, Duffils, Rattines, and other Woollen Goods and all such Linen and Hardware Goods as he the said John Taylor should consign to North America to the care or charge of the said Cornelius Buck".²

1. Carr MSS., 1771-83 (CA), vol. 4: articles of agreement, 'special form', 25 Aug. 1783.
2. H. Ashwell Cadman, Gomersal, Past and Present (Armley, Leeds, 1930), pp.55-57. John Taylor, born 1736, the eldest son of Joshus Taylor, built in 1785 at Hunsworth, "a pretty large mill for carding machines to which he had attached four stocks to mill woollen cloth". The speciality of the Hunsworth Mills was the manufacture of army cloths, generally known locally as "common thick-'uns"; wool slubbings were given out for spinning and weaving in neighbouring homes; and woven pieces were washed, milled, dyed and finished within the mill. A finer type of cloth was exported in large quantities to France and Italy. The Taylor family became merchants and bankers, as well as manufacturers.

In the Spen Valley, several small and medium manufacturers, some with decided American interests, were producing cloth at or about the time of the War of Independence. The partnership of 'Wilcock and Rhodes' comprised William Wilcock who, although living at Stubley, Heckmondwike, carried on his manufacturing operations with Isreel Rhodes at 'Milne Brigg Milne'. Matthew Woodhead, manufacturer, merchant and owner of a small farm in Leeds Road, married the daughter of John Frost, of 'Milne Brigg'. Manufacturers in Heckmondwike included Jeremiah Firth, Abraham Naylor and Tommy Hirst, and in Cleckheaton, John Brooke, William Walker¹ and Thomas Naylor. Whilst many of the small cloth producers followed the common pattern of dealing with or through Leeds and Wakefield merchants, both William Wilcock and his friend John Frost carried on a prosperous trade direct with the American colonies

1. This may have been the William Walker (or a son) who sailed from Liverpool for South Carolina in the Polly in March 1774: Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Jul. 1909), 236 (week, 21-28 Mar. 1774).

prior to 1775, largely in carpets, blankets and rough cloths to New York.

With the outbreak of hostilities, however, John Frost, in common no doubt with Wilcock and other Spen Valley cloth-producers who had earlier ventured successfully into the American market, found himself beset by problems of indebtedness. In order to retrieve the situation and to consider post-war possibilities, Frost sent his son and namesake John Frost to New York about 1783-84.¹ The young Frost's terms of reference were to give a first-hand account of the situation and decide upon the advantages or otherwise of his acting as agent to the small group of Spen Valley manufacturers. Frost's verdict appears to have been optimistic for he remained in America and was entrusted with several heavy consignments of cloth from his father-in-law, William Wilcock. After early promise, however, matters began to go wrong and remittances, for a time sent irregularly, ceased altogether about 1786. Wilcock sent his son James, probably aged nineteen at the time, to report on American trade and on his brother-in-law's behaviour. The state of the one was bad,

1. John Frost, Jr., had earlier married the daughter of William Wilcock.

and of the other, worse: John Frost, Jr., having been seduced by the gay life, was allegedly dissipated and reckless. An improvement on Frost's part led James Wilcock to return to Yorkshire, but before long, matters were even worse than formerly. With the greatest reluctance, but prompted by the incessant pressure and grumblings of his father, young Wilcock set out again for the United States, accompanied as far as Liverpool by his cousin, Thomas Cockhill, of Littleton.^{1.} From the evidence available, it appears that James Wilcock no longer troubled himself with John Frost, Jr., once he reached New York: perhaps the latter was beyond redemption, or had disappeared from the city. James probably recovered as many as possible of the investments of his father and Spen Valley neighbours, for he thereafter established himself as their American agent.^{2.}

1. John and Thomas Cockhill, of Littleton, were dyers and tanners. In the Election of 1807, "Cockhill Thomas (Dyer)" is noted under "Liversedge Voters", Spen Valley.
2. Frank Peel, Spen Valley: Past and Present (Heckmondwike, 1893), pp.221-23, 286, 306. James Wilcock's subsequent career in America and Tobago is noted later.

Notwithstanding the widespread problem of American indebtedness, the transatlantic market held great promise for Yorkshire enterprise in the 1780's and 1790's. Debts were fully or partly paid, or resignedly deleted by the creditor when there was no hope of recoupment. By the last years of the eighteenth century, trade with the United States was based on countless permutations of business arrangement. Americans and British formed partnerships. Partners of American firms resided in London, Liverpool and other cities; and partners of British firms lived in New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere in America. Yorkshire traders emigrated to settle permanently in ports along the Atlantic seaboard and to serve as agents, commission merchants, or merchants in their own right buying British textile products. The American market attracted not only English commercial immigrants possessing substantial capital or credit resources, but also traders who had little of either at their disposal. Their attributes of enterprise, ability, courage and energy was underlined, however, by a number of advantageous factors found in the

American import business. The tariff on most imports of manufactured goods remained relatively low until 1812.¹ Further, duty was not payable in cash before the importer received his goods; and imports could therefore be sold and reimbursement received before most of the customs duties were payable. The importer could sell his goods by private treaty or by auction, a frequent occurrence in the principal American ports. If he used the latter method, the Yorkshire immigrant could pass his goods indirectly to the auctioneer, or he could have his bales shipped directly to the auctioneer. Yorkshire manufacturers who had no agent or partner in the United States often used this method of direct consignment.²

For the last decade of the eighteenth century, woollen cloth exports from Britain to the United States were valued at £18,300,000, and from 1794 onwards, these exports were generally valued at £2,000,000 or more annually.³ A proportion of this business was clearly managed by expatriate Yorkshire traders; and a range of evidence exists of a mercantile migration to, and residence in the east-coast ports of the United States in this period.

1. The tariff on textiles rose gradually from 5% to 12½% by 1800, and to 15% by 1805. Duty was doubled as a war measure in 1812.
2. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 241-42.
3. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 242.

As already noted, by 1791, the firm of Elam and Glover was importing steadily into New York and Boston, and the partners were selling their goods by private treaty or by public auction. John J. Glover stayed permanently in New York until his death in December 1824, by which time he had amassed a considerable fortune.^{1.} The Quaker, Robert Elam, who purchased the estate of Lower Woodhouse, Rawdon, near Leeds, in 1799, spent most of his time in America, but frequently visited Yorkshire.^{2.}

Benjamin Taylor, of Leeds, was in New York in 1793, as was George Goodman, a friend of Robert Elam, in 1794. John Lupton was in Philadelphia in 1796, also John Waddington, the Philadelphia partner of mayor Cookson, of Leeds. Some Yorkshire traders quickly became American citizens: William Rhodes, now a New York merchant, received his naturalisation papers in 1789, and Benjamin Armitage became a United States citizen two years after his arrival in 1794.^{3.} Also in 1794, John Ellis, a

1. Hull Advertiser, 11 Feb., 1825; Hull Rockingham, 12 Feb. 1825; Yorkshire Gazette, 12 Feb. 1825.

2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 243.

3. Ibid.

New York merchant, wrote to John Mickletwaite, a merchant of Leeds and Ardsley, about the estate of his sister, Mary Ellis, of Barnsley and Liverpool.¹ By 1805, John Buckley, woollen manufacturer of Broadhead, Saddleworth, was trading with America through his son Henry, a merchant in New York. Henry sold his father's woollen goods and bought cotton at Charleston, S.C.; and he was also probably the American agent for other local Saddleworth manufacturers.² Further fragmentary evidence would suggest the emigration of many other merchants

1. John Mickletwaite: Letters and Business Papers, 1790-1818 (The John Rylands Library: Eng. MS.1138). John Mickletwaite and John Benson (of Liverpool) were executors of this estate. John Mickletwaite also owned property in Delaware (C. Conegys, Baltimore, to J. Mickletwaite, 7, 8 Aug., 8 Aug.-10 Sep. 1805; John Young, Philadelphia, to J. Mickletwaite, 29 Dec. 1818). "Messrs. R. and I. Mickletwaite" are noted as the Leeds agents for the American ship Clothier, Capt. N.D. Gardner, due to sail from Hull for Philadelphia with "the Fall Goods" in 1795 (Hull Packet, 28 Apr. 1795).
2. Buckley Family: Business Papers, 1805-22. The Buckley family traded with America throughout the nineteenth century. Hugh, a second son of John Buckley, was a merchant in Lisbon.

during the 1790's, or in the earliest years of nineteenth century. William Sheepshanks, late of Leeds, and partner in the business of Hobson, Sheepshanks and Lawson, married in America in 1804.¹ The merchant, Samuel Gatliff, also formerly of Leeds, died in Philadelphia in October 1806.² Josiah Rhodes, merchant, formerly of Morley, died at Sparta, N.Y., in 1807.³

Although the young James Wilcock was twice sent to New York in the 1780's, once to investigate the actions of the first agent, John Frost, Jr., the second time to become agent himself to his father, William Wilcock, and other Spen Valley manufacturers, his real heyday belongs to the 1790's. James's involvement at the American end became increasingly

1. Hull Packet, 19 Jun. 1804. Sheepshanks married Miss Ann Louise Spencer, of Germantown, Pa., 3 May 1804.
2. Hull Packet, 23 Dec. 1806: obit., 14 Oct. 1806. The Leeds Directory, 1798, p.24, lists "Gatliff, ~~William~~, Woodhouse Lane" (Leeds); and the Commercial Directory, 1814-15, p.80, lists "Gatliff, William and Co., Park Lane" (Leeds) under "Merchant (and Stuff Merchant)". "Gatliff and Nevins" also occurs under "Merchant".
3. Hull Packet, 31 Mar. 1807. Josiah Rhodes's son, Samuel, also died at Sparta, N.Y., 1 Sep. 1818, aged 37 (Hull Rockingham, 6 Feb. 1819).

demanding and his agency prospered. In one period of two months, he reported that he had cleared about £1,200, and that, owing to pressure of business, he would be unable to revisit Yorkshire by a scheduled date. Affairs seem to have prospered until the mid-'nineties before a series of disasters struck in the winter of 1796-97, leaving many American customers unable to meet their bills. In October 1796, James wrote to Yorkshire that he could not sail until the following spring, but hoped that his sweetheart, Mary Cockhill, would then return with him to America.¹ Trading disasters, however, prevented his departure from New York in 1797; and these were augmented by a large consignment of Yorkshire cloth being captured at sea by the French. In all, young Wilcock's losses amounted to £5,000, but after realising on his assets and losing all his materials, these were reduced to £1,500 for his father at Heckmondwike to make good. William Wilcock, however, refused to pay the difference, indeed even to communicate. James placed his effects in the hands of a Quaker accountant, Joseph Hopkins, and disappeared from the New York commercial scene so completely that more than two years elapsed before news about him was again forthcoming.

1. Mary Cockhill was the daughter of Thomas Cockhill, dyer, of Littleton.

In response to belated enquiries by William Wilcock and others in Yorkshire, Hopkins ultimately forwarded promising news: that James had been seen in Tobago and had acquired property there as a merchant; and that James's American debts were now fewer than formerly. In July 1801, James in Tobago wrote directly to his father: he had achieved great success and was a partner in the firm of Finlay, Wilcock and James. No partner would draw out any money for three years, but at the end of that period, James hoped to reimburse his father for his losses, meantime sending him sugar and rum. A letter from his cousin, Joseph Cockhill, soon dampened his cheerfulness, for Mary Cockhill, James's long-suffering sweetheart, had finally with the long absence of news married a neighbouring cloth fuller of Littleton, by name Waller. Replying from the West Indies,¹ James revealed that now he could never think of marrying anyone, nor could he, despite his father's failing health,² return to Yorkshire because of the possibility of the partners' vessels being captured by French cruisers. The possibility became reality

1. Letter from "Scarboro", Tobago, July 5th, 1802".

2. William Wilcock died 1803.

when loaded vessels were captured by the French within sight of Tobago, and with great losses, the firm failed. James Wilcock again disappeared from view until 1816, and he perhaps died in the Tobago fever epidemic two years later.^{1.}

Apart from representing his father in New York, James Wilcock was also agent for John Brooke, of Cleckheaton, who exported rough army cloths to America and Abraham Naylor, of Heckmondwike, James's brother-in-law.^{2.} Later, Abraham Naylor widened his trade both within Britain and with various business houses in the United States, especially in Boston, Vermont, Virginia, Albany and Richmond. Included among the woollen and worsted goods, blankets and Irish linens that he shipped were "Rattinettes, Calimancoes, Bombazettes, Durants, Wildbores, Bombazines and Shalloons". The export of Sheffield cutlery, Birmingham ware, and cotton goods, including calico chintz and men's cotton stockings, also came into his sphere. In return, he imported wine, rum and

1. F. Peel, Spen Valley: Past and Present, pp.223-26.

2. F. Peel, pp.226,305. In the Election of 1807, "Naylor Abraham (Clothier)" is noted under "Heckmondwike Voters", Spen Valley.

gin, some probably in barter.¹ In conjunction with Naylor, Thomas Cockhill, of Littleton, dyer, exported to America and the colonies in the role of a merchant. Blankets and carpets were in particular demand, though woollens, linens, silks, hosiery and clothing were also important items of export. In return, Cockhill, like Naylor, imported rum and other tropical products.²

Similarly, by the 1790's, Joseph Holroyd, wool dyer and merchant, of Leeds, was pursuing a not inconsiderable trade with the United States. A book listing bills of exchange for the period, 1788-1807, has survived; and a number of the bills are shown as due in Savannah, Geo., New York, and elsewhere in America.³

1. F. Peel, p.229.

2. Ibid., p.286.

3. Joseph Holroyd (& Son), Business Records, 1788-1821. A later account book, 1812-21, indicates transactions with Marx and Linsley, N.Y., charges for insurance on woollens sent via Liverpool to New Orleans, and details of accounts relating to cotton shipment from New Orleans by Maunsell, White & Co.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, probably the most important of all the Yorkshire personalities engaged in the Anglo-American cloth trade and resident in the United States, was Francis Thompson. Francis, the youngest of seven brothers who made up the firm of Thompson Brothers, Quaker cloth manufacturers of Rawdon, near Leeds, was sent to America in 1798, his mission to sell the consignments of cloth sent from Rawdon and from any other interested manufacturer. Francis Thompson, aided by immediate introductions to Quaker circles and his own well developed business acumen, soon established himself. He quickly became involved with Isaac Wright, a Quaker cloth-importer of Long Island, N.Y., Thomas Walker, a Yorkshire trader now in Philadelphia, and T.K. Jones, a Boston auctioneer.¹ By 1800, Francis Thompson was handling consignments from Rawdon, and woollens and cottons from other Yorkshire and Lancashire manufacturers, was trading at times in conjunction with Thomas Walker, and was selling goods through his

1. T.K. Jones sold direct consignments from Yorkshire, as well as goods on behalf of Robert Elam, John J. Glover, Thomas Walker, Francis Thompson and others in New York and Philadelphia.

own warehouse or by New York and Boston auctioneers.

In 1801, Francis visited Yorkshire, and on his return was accompanied by Jeremiah Thompson, his nephew, and a man of equal business confidence.^{1.}

The combination of Francis and Jeremiah Thompson worked well for the next seven years; and relations with Isaac Wright were strengthened when Francis married Wright's daughter.^{2.}

Two years after Jeremiah's arrival in New York, the group was joined by another young Yorkshireman. Benjamin Marshall, born in Huddersfield in 1782, went to

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States....", 243-44, notes that as Francis Thompson was the youngest of the Rawdon brothers, and Jeremiah was the son of the eldest brother, only about three years separated the ages of the two men. Francis was aged about 30 in 1798 when he sailed for America, as was Jeremiah in 1801. An obituary in the Halifax Guardian, 19 Dec. 1835, however, notes that Jeremiah Thompson was aged 53 when he died the previous month: this, if correct, would mean that he was only aged 19 in 1801.
2. Francis Thompson is noted as Isaac Wright's "late son-in-law" in Wright's obituary, Leeds Mercury, 15 Sep. 1832. Isaac Wright died 8 Aug. 1832 at his residence, Kip's Bay, N.Y., aged 72.

Manchester in 1798 to learn the cotton business, especially the manufacture of cotton goods. Accompanied by Joseph, his elder brother, Benjamin crossed the Atlantic in 1803 with a consignment of cotton pieces and reached New York on the 16th August. After the successful disposal of his wares, Benjamin decided to stay in New York to establish himself as an importer of English cotton goods, and, in partnership with Joseph, took a store at No. 10 Beekman Street. Although he was not of the Quaker persuasion, Benjamin Marshall soon became acquainted with the Thompsons and the Wrights and an association so began that was to last thirty years.^{1.}

Jeremiah Thompson returned to England in 1808 in order to sort out family problems at Rawdon caused by death. In the reorganised business of "Jeremiah and William Thompson, Woollen Manufacturers and Merchants" - to be described twenty years later at the time of the firm's bankruptcy as "extensive" and its affairs as being of "great magnitude and intricacy"^{2.} - brother William was to remain at Rawdon. He was obviously a man of similar business determination to Jeremiah, for his role was to supply woollen pieces from both the firm's own

1. William R. Bagnall, The Textile Industries of the United States, 1639-1810 (Cambridge, Mass., 1893), p.510; H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 245.
2. Hull Rockingham, 12 Apr.1828.

production and from private sources and local cloth halls. In managing his own production, he employed many families and experimented early with the newly introduced Australian wool; and he also pursued farming interests.^{1.} As William produced, so Jeremiah's task was to sell and he soon returned to New York, no longer, it seems, now in partnership with Francis Thompson.^{2.}

A difficult period in Anglo-American relations, however, was the background to the endeavours of Jeremiah Thompson and other Yorkshiremen in American ports. Napoleon's Berlin Decree of 1806 proclaimed the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and declared that all merchandise coming from them, in whatever vessels, was lawful prize. Britain's Orders in Council, in response, prohibited all trade between any two ports in Napoleon's empire. Also prohibited was all neutral trade with any port from which British ships were excluded, unless the ship first called at a British port and paid duties. Napoleon's consequent Milan Decree authorised the confiscation of any vessel sailing to or from any port of the British Empire. Between 1803 and 1812, the British captured 917 American ships, the French, 558. A further American grievance - against

1. Leeds Mercury, 6 Oct., 1827, 3 May, 28 Jun. 1828.

2. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 245.

Britain only - was the stopping of American ships by British cruisers and the extraction from them of sailors on the grounds that they were deserters from the British navy, or at least British subjects. Congress, provoked by American resentment against the British Orders in Council, banned the importation into the United States of many kinds of British goods. In December 1807, Jefferson secured the passage of the Embargo Act which prohibited the export of any produce from the United States or the sailing of American vessels to any foreign ports. The non-importation policy became effective in June 1808, but did not exclude consignments of British woollens invoiced at 5s.0d. or less a square yard. By the Embargo Act, British ships were permitted to enter American ports as long as only non-prohibited goods were carried, but return cargoes could not be taken out. American ships already at sea could return with prohibited goods until June 1808, and non-prohibited goods thereafter: in the event, many American ships continued to cruise without returning home and illicit trade flourished. Strong opposition arose within the United States, especially in New England, and Jefferson secured the repeal of the Embargo Act. For this a milder Non-intercourse Act was substituted in March 1809 which prohibited trade with Britain and France until they withdrew their Decrees and Orders. This policy was suspended against Britain, June-August 1809, and formally

abandoned against both countries, 1st May 1810. The Thompsons and other Yorkshire merchants, therefore, were able to import woollens into United States ports during 1808, the autumn of 1809, and very heavily in the spring and fall of 1810.¹

An interesting sideline to the problems of the American embargo and Napoleon's closure of Continental ports to Britain was the enterprise shown by British manufacturers in developing large, though short-lived, trade with Brazil and the Spanish-American colonies. Two Yorkshire merchants, John Luccock and Henry Glover, son of Samuel Glover, of Little Woodhouse, near Leeds, sailed for Rio de Janeiro in 1808 to clear a multitude of consignments. Although the boom burst within two years, Henry Glover seems to have stayed permanently in Rio until his death there in July 1822, "after a lingering illness".²

The reopening, temporarily as it proved, of the American market immediately raised the impetus of Yorkshire trading, with much the same pattern of commercial intercourse as before 1808. Benjamin Gott, for instance, the celebrated Leeds merchant-manufacturer, who by 1800 was able to meet American orders for cloth of all qualities, sold directly to

1. D.C. Somervell, A History of the United States to 1941 (London, 1960), pp.95-97; H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 245-46.

2. Hull Pockingham, 28 Sep. 1822 (obit., 11 Jul. 1822).

American merchants, including Samuel Appleton¹, J. and T.H. Perkins, and Theodore Lyman, all of Boston; or through Gott's American agent, Sam Stones, who regularly toured Boston, New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia; or through some Liverpool or London agent acting for the American firm.² American merchants, native-born and Yorkshire immigrants, corresponded with the West Riding, placing orders for consignments in 1810 and 1811. In reverse, Yorkshire merchants and manufacturers solicited trade from American customers: many paid temporary visits to New York and Philadelphia, and some stayed permanently in those and other cities.

Many familiar names, such as Crowther, Lister, Webster, Dodgshun and Coghill, were to be found among the Yorkshire ranks boarding especially in Lower Manhattan by about 1810.³ Solomon Brown and George Young were sent to New York, and Alexander Young to New Orleans, either about this time or just after the Anglo-American War of 1812-14. Solomon Brown, "agent to Messrs. Hogg", merchants and woollen cloth manufacturers, of Holbeck, Leeds, was in New York at the

1. Samuel Appleton visited Leeds in 1808.
2. H. Heaton, "Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade", 146, 149-51, 153-58, esp. 156-57 for problems of Anglo-American trade, 1806-10. Benjamin Gott, of Armley House, Leeds, died in February 1840 in his 78th year (Hull, E.R. & N. Lincs. Observer, 25 Feb. 1840; obit., 21 Feb. 1840).
3. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 247.

time of his death in April 1819.¹ George and Alexander Young, certainly related and probably brothers, appear to have represented the latter's brothers, John and David Young, woollen merchants and manufacturers, of Leeds,

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 22 May 1819; Hull Advertiser, 22 May 1819: obit., 23 Apr. 1819, aged 29. Solomon Brown was the son of William Brown, formerly of Nun Monkton, near York, and nephew of William Mawson, of Burmantofts. Various Directories, covering the period 1814-37, list the Hoggs. The Commercial Directory 1814-15, p.80, and 1816-17, p.145, list "Hogg, Benjamin & Co., Holbeck", under "Merchant". "Hogg, and Co., Manufacturer and merchant, Holbeck", occurs in the (1817) Directory...of the town and borough of Leeds, p.98, and "Hogg, Thomas & Co., Holbeck" as "Merchant" and "woollen cloth manufacturer" in the Commercial Directory, 1818-19-20, pp.198, 205. The General and Commercial Directory of the borough of Leeds (1826), pp.69, 170, and Pigot, Directory of Yorkshire (1830), pp.1015, 1021, list "Hogg, Thomas and Benjamin, Merchants and woollen cloth manufacturers, 23 Albion St., Home Mill, Holbeck". Later references include "Hogg, T. and B., Woollen cloth manufacturers and merchants, 21 Basinghall Street", in General and Commercial Directory of Leeds (1834), p.104; and "Hogg, Benjamin, cloth merchant, 9, Basinghall St., Home-18 Grove Terrace"; and "Hogg, Thomas, Merchant, Home - Lower Moor Side, Holbeck, in White, History, Gazetteer and Directory of the W.R. of Yorkshire (1837), pp.571, 651. Benjamin Hogg died before October 1846. His youngest daughter, Elizabeth, married in New Brunswick in Oct. 1846, and his only son, Francis, died at Saint John, N.B., in Nov. 1848, aged 36 (Leeds Mercury, 24 Oct. 1846, 6 Jan. 1849; Newcastle Courant, 12 Jan. 1849; Halifax Guardian, 13 Jan. 1849).

in New York and New Orleans.^{1.}

Reference has already been made to the Crowther family of Gomersal during the last thirty or forty years of the eighteenth century; George, the clothier, who expanded the scale of his operations throughout the North of England and into Scotland; brother William who worked for a London merchant-banker; and a third brother, Benjamin, who, in conjunction with

1. Hull Rockingham, 21 Aug. 1819, 27 May 1820: George Young died in N.Y., aged 38, on 24 Jul. 1819; and Alexander in New Orleans in the spring of 1820. The first reference to the Leeds base is in the Leeds Directory, 1798, p.56: "Young, John, Cloth dresser, Simpson's Fold". Listings then follow regularly until 1826. The Commercial Directory, 1814-15, p.81, and 1816-17, p.146, list "Young, John and David, Bowman Lane" under "Merchant". The 1817 Directory...of Leeds, p.164, repeats the information, adding "Manufacturers" and their home address as "Simpson's Fold". A possible break in the partnership occurred in 1820-21, perhaps with the deaths of George and Alexander Young in America. Whereas the Commercial Directory, 1818-19-20, p.199, notes the brothers together as "Merchants" in Bowman Lane, Baines, History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York (1822), I, pp.91, 119, 129, separates the brothers into "Young, David, Merchant and manufacturer, Bowman Lane", and "Young, John and Co., Woollen manufacturers and commission merchants, Simpson's Fold". In the General and Commercial Directory...of Leeds (1826), pp.144, 181, only John Young and Co., woollen cloth manufacturers and finishers, now of "2, Smithsons Place, Meadow Lane" is listed.

the cosmopolitan George Parker, travelled to America, showed great enterprise there beyond his years, but who was finally thwarted by the War of Independence. About 1796, the Crowther family moved from Gomersal to Churwell, a village between Morley and Leeds, where they purchased a small estate possessing a stream and a coal seam. With two partners, George Crowther built Lane Side Mill, dammed the stream, exploited the coal and became a 'Merchant and Scribbling Miller'.¹ On the death of George Crowther about 1805, the three brothers George Jr., Thomas and David Crowther succeeded to the business as George Crowther and Company, and a by now familiar decision occurred. George and Thomas produced or bought cloths at home, whilst David sailed westwards to sell the cloth.²

David Crowther, at 22 the youngest of the three brothers, reached New York in November 1810, and established himself in Lower Manhattan. Of his boarding home and companions, Crowther wrote:

1. Scribbling - the process by which wool (or cotton) was coarsely carded.
2. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 237, 247-48.

"Mrs. Atterbury's (the landlady) are a very nice family.¹ There are seven boarders of us, and most of them very intelligent men and all very steady and orderly...Mr. Lister from Leeds plays on the flute...Jeremish Thompson is my greatest friend and the following are almost the only persons I keep company with: Joseph Walker from Leeds, George Coghill from Mill Shaw, William Robertson from Wortley, J. Bakewell from Derbyshire, J. Lister from Leeds, and two men from Manchester and Sheffield respectively. All respectable young men, or I should no longer know them..."²

Crowther's voyage, undertaken during the trading boom of 1810, doubtless filled him with sanguine expectations of commercial enterprise. He, Jeremish Thompson and his other fellows staying at Mrs. Atterbury's were soon to be disillusioned during the course of the following year.

1. The surname 'Atterbury' is not unknown in Leeds. For example, E.J.C. Atterbury, of Leeds, married Miss Mary Colt at Paterson, N.J., 25 Sep. 1846 (Leeds Mercury, 31 Oct. 1846).
2. Cited by H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 248.

By February 1811, United States ports were again closed to British vessels and imports, only one of the results of a series of misunderstandings between the two countries which plagued the Madison Presidency. The Non-intercourse Act implied that the United States would recommence trading with Britain and France as long as they agreed to revoke their war regulations restricting the rights of neutral trading countries. Should either Britain or France abandon its regulations, the other refusing, the United States would boycott the other. Minister Erskine was instructed to negotiate the lines of settlement, went beyond his terms of reference, and was recalled by Canning. Jackson, the British replacement, was recalled on American demands. The United States reinstituted non-intercourse with Britain. In August 1810, Napoleon secretly informed the American ambassador that France would annul the Berlin and Milan Decrees in the case of the United States. In November, Madison announced Napoleon's statement of intent - almost certainly spurious - and re-opened trade with France. Britain was given three months, until February 1811, to repeal its Orders in Council. Britain however, required evidence

that Napoleon was true to his word, proof of which could not be forthcoming. Madison, without losing credibility, could not retract; and Congress could not rescind its proclamation gracefully.^{1.}

The banning of British vessels and imports in February 1811 filled Yorkshire hearts in New York with dismay. Whilst vessels which had left British ports before February were allowed to discharge their cargoes in American ports, no goods could enter thereafter. Moreover, although American ships could transport American goods to Britain, these ships could not then return to home ports with British goods, only in ballast or with Continental commodities. The situation was ridiculous, incredible, needless and, worst of all, inimical to both American and British shipping and trading interests. Yorkshire trade was uncertain and some American merchants failed. In March 1811, Crowther wrote to Churwell about his

1. Somervell, pp.98-99; H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 248-49.

difficulties and sought his brothers' advice as to whether he should in the circumstances return home, stay in New York or go to Canada: the more experienced Jeremiah Thompson, his fellow boarder at Mrs. Atterbury's, had advised him "don't be in a hurry, wait and see".¹

Initial dismay in the Yorkshire mercantile colony was replaced for a time by guarded optimism. This was based on one of two expectations: either Napoleon had indeed excluded the United States from the Decrees and Britain would rescind the Orders in Council; or Napoleon's word was clearly worthless and the American ban on imports from Britain would be lifted. Merchants hopefully prepared for either eventuality. Many orders were placed in 1811 and early 1812; and some merchants crossed to Yorkshire to

1. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States....", 245-50.

place orders and select cloth in readiness for the reopening of trade. David Crowther, in July 1811, ordered from his brothers thirty bales of "...sundry woollen goods...to be shipped by the first good vessel from Liverpool to New York with insurance on the same as soon as the Orders in Council shall be revoked..."¹ Crowther then took the first official step towards becoming a United States citizen before spending the winter of 1811-12 in Canada.

By the time Crowther returned to New York in the spring of 1812, relative optimism had turned to outright pessimism. In May, British despatches received in Washington protested that Napoleon had not suspended his Decrees and that France was still receiving preferential treatment. In June, Congress declared war on Britain, despite the warranted opposition of Americans, especially New England, shipping and trading interests.²

1. Cited by H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 250.

2. Somervell, p.100. Ironically, Britain decided to suspend the Orders in Council, 16 June 1812, two days before Madison's declaration of war.

With the outbreak of war, many Yorkshire traders found themselves in the unenviable position of being enemy aliens. Some of the earlier immigrants had by now been United States citizens for several years. William Rhodes had received his naturalisation papers as early as 1789, John J. Glover about the same time or a little later, and Benjamin Armitage in 1796. Ezra Hounsfield, of Sheffield, had landed in New York in 1797, and Thomas Walker was in Philadelphia prior to 1798. Francis and Jeremiah Thompson had arrived in the United States in 1798 and 1801, and Benjamin Marshall in 1803.¹ William Sheepshanks emigrated prior to 1804, the year in which he was married in Philadelphia.² Others, however, whilst they had taken out their first papers of naturalisation, had not fulfilled their five years' residency in the United States to obtain their second papers. Samuel Hudson had arrived in America

1. H. Noston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States....", 243-45, 251.

2. Ibid., 251; Hull Packet, 19 Jun. 1804.

in 1808,^{1.} Enoch Dodgshun and David Crowther in 1810, and George Coggill in 1811. Yet others, such as James Webster and Francis Lyman, had not even had enough time to consider naturalisation before war was declared.^{2.}

The first presidential decree on the subject of enemy aliens was issued in July 1812, shortly after the outbreak of war. This decree required each British subject to register with the U.S. marshal of his state or territory, and to furnish the following details: name, age, occupation, number and names of dependants, present address and length of residence in the country, and the stage reached by the applicant for naturalisation (where applicable).

1. Samuel Hudson was perhaps an elder brother, or at least related to Joseph Hudson, New York merchant, fourth son of William Hudson, of Adwalton, near Morley, who married the only daughter of Alderman Tooker, of N.Y., in November 1823 (Wakefield & Halifax Journal, 30 Jan. 1824). The only son of this marriage, William Henry Hudson, died at Stratford, Conn., in May 1864 (Leeds Mercury, 4 Jun. 1864).
2. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 251.

This information was then forwarded to Washington. For many months the conflict proved to be a 'phoney war' for the aliens, and in November 1812, Crowther was able to write: "The respect with which we treat Englishmen here seems to prove that the present war is rather betwixt the two governments than the People".¹ The twilight situation changed, however, in February 1813 with the issuance of a State Department order that each enemy alien living within forty miles of the tidewater should apply to the marshal of his state for a passport to move inland beyond the forty-mile limit to a location decided by the marshal. The measure was specifically aimed at those engaged in commerce, those considered most likely to give 'aid and comfort' to the enemy in the event of a British naval landing. As long as artisans, labourers and farmers, in general, had arrived in the United States before the outbreak of war, and continued to obtain official permission every month, they could remain where they were.

In the case of New York, all British traders were required to go to the marshal for their passports

1. Cited by H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 252. Crowther's use of 'we' almost infers that because he had taken out his first naturalisation papers in 1811, he already identified himself as half-American.

and new places of residence. Some disobeyed and were taken into custody. Those who followed instructions were treated well, for, by the very nature of their occupation, they could plead that an immediate move would not allow them sufficient time to sort out their substantial trading affairs. Moreover, those traders living in New York City could also argue quite legitimately that a move of forty miles from the tidewater would mean in their case a removal up the Hudson valley of nearly two hundred miles if they were to live in a moderately sized town. David Crowther and other Yorkshire traders, on the basis of these arguments, were therefore allowed to remain temporarily in New York. In April 1813, however, the regulations, somewhat revised, were enforced. All enemy aliens who were merchants or traders - but not labourers, mechanics or manufacturers - were required to remove themselves inland forthwith, with the following limited exception. Where the alien had taken out his first naturalisation papers at least six months before the beginning of the war, and had married an American girl, or owned real property, or was in a purely domestic trade, he could stay where he was on condition that he did not live near a navigable river or military establishment.

Some Yorkshiremen settled their affairs and quietly left for Canada, the West Indies or England.

Crowther and others, however, stayed on in New York City as long as possible before resignedly moving northwards some sixty miles to Fishkill in July 1813. George Coggill found accommodation there sufficient for his family and a few boarders, including David Crowther.¹

George Coggill's case was particularly unfortunate. Coggill had first arrived in New York in early 1811 as an intending settler, and by March 1812 had taken out his first naturalisation papers. At the end of that month, in full expectation that Britain would shortly rescind her Orders in Council, he sailed for England with plans to place orders and to return with his wife and family during the summer. In the West Riding he bought or ordered substantial quantities of cloth for transatlantic shipment; and as soon as he heard that the Orders in Council had indeed been revoked, he and his family sailed from Liverpool aboard the Euphrates bound for New York. Coggill could not know, of course, that the United States had declared war on 18th June, only two days after the suspension of the Orders, but was

1. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Traders in the United States...", 252-53.

made painfully aware of the fact when, on 23rd August, the Euphrates was accosted by an American privateer and shepherded into Newport, R.I. Coggill and his family journeyed on to New York to discover with dismay that British goods were being seized by American privateers en route or by customs officials in port.

Coggill was only one of hundreds of merchants, agents and shippers on both sides of the Atlantic who assumed that the United States would remove its non-importation policy in return for the suspension of the Orders in Council. Even when news of America's declaration of war reached England in July, it was again assumed - wrongly - that the war would end as soon as news of Britain's removal of the Orders reached the United States. Mercantile interests were confounded on both counts, but based on the two mistaken assumptions, great quantities of British goods continued to arrive in American ports in American vessels.

With such quantities artificially held in bond, Congress was also in a dilemma: the goods, all carried in American holds, mainly belonged to American citizens who had completed their transactions before news of the outbreak of war had reached Britain.

Congress therefore provided relief in early 1813 to any merchant, despite his technical breach of the non-importation law, who could prove that he was an American citizen and that he had ordered or bought his goods before the declaration of war. The merchant was then able to claim his goods on condition that he promised, with substantial security, to pay the equivalent value of the goods should his case go against him after an involved legal procedure and perhaps an adverse decision by the Secretary of the Treasury.^{1.}

Yorkshire merchants who had become U.S. citizens before the outbreak of war, therefore, generally received favourable decisions. Benjamin Armitage, naturalised in 1796, was in this category. Those, however, who had only taken out their first naturalisation papers, or none at all, prior to the war were in a far more difficult position. The half-aliens, George Coggill, David Crowther, Enoch Dodgshun and Samuel Hudson, had all received many bales of cloth from the Leeds, Morley, Beeston and Wortley areas of West Yorkshire.^{2.} James Webster, as representative of those who had barely had time to consider naturalisation, so recent was their

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 253-55.

2. Ibid., 254.

arrival in the United States, also received a substantial consignment. Attempts to reclaim these imported goods were legally expensive and time-consuming. Where the owners were aliens and British subjects, goods were usually condemned, either as prize to the privateer or forfeited to the government. If the aliens, however, were resident in America and traded under U.S. protection, their goods in the end generally received the same treatment as those belonging to American citizens, provided that they could prove their ownership and that they had placed their orders before the war began. Samuel Hudson and Enoch Dodgshun became fully naturalised U.S. citizens in 1813, and David Crowther claimed that this was also his intention.¹ No doubt this weighed in the claimants' favour, but legal procedure was still long, expensive and involved. Crowther's position of July 1814, for example, relating to goods ordered

1. The five-years' residence requirement was allowed to include the war years by an Act of July 1813.

July 1811 and received September 1812, was finally settled in July 1816. The matter of the cargo of the Euphrates, shipped in July 1812, passed through two Rhode Island courts to the U.S. Supreme Court.¹

George Coggill and other Yorkshire traders, including Crowther, had moved to Fishkill, N.Y., in July 1813. Apart from a few who returned furtively to their former places of business, and consequently, when discovered, fell foul of the law, most whiled away their time in places of seclusion well away from the Atlantic tidewater. A new policy was introduced in November 1813. Early the following month, the Yorkshire group in Fishkill received the Deputy Marshall of New York who gave them paroles to sign, under pain of close confinement if they refused to comply. After some hesitancy, all signed; and they continued to remain there in a twenty-mile by fifteen-mile area of country from that December until 20th February 1815. Although many other aliens applied to the U.S. government to be released from this obligation - without success until December 1814 - Crowther declined to do so. The group stayed at Fishkill until the end of the war, peace being signed at Ghent on Christmas Eve, 1814.²

1. Cited by H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 256.

2. Ibid., 256-57: Somervell, p.102.

(c) 1815-1850.

In this study, the years 1815-50 represent the most prolific period of activity in Anglo-American, particularly Yorkshire-American trade. Despite American tariffs on woollen imports of never less than 20 per cent, and as high as 50 per cent ad valorem in 1832, the United States received in nearly every year a greater value of British woollens than any other single country. Moreover, figures for many years indicate that the United States took more than twice the amount of woollens going to Britain's second-largest market. Between one-quarter and one-third of total woollen exports generally went to the United States.^{1.} In 1833, 271,503 pieces of "Cloth of all sorts", valued at £2,265,407 out of a total of 597,189 (value, £6,294,432) were exported to America;^{2.} and in 1836, a boom year, about 40 per cent was exported there.^{3.} In 1851, some 30 per cent of British woollen and worsted exports were consigned to the United States.^{4.}

1. J. Potter, "Atlantic Economy, 1815-1860: the U.S.A. and the Industrial Revolution in Britain", in A.W. Coats & Ross M. Robertson (eds.), Essays in American Economic History (London, 1969), pp.36-40.
2. J.R. McCulloch, Dictionary...of Commerce and Commercial Navigation (1834), p.1266.
3. J.R. McCulloch, Descriptive and Statistical Account of the British Empire (1854), I, p.654, cited by H. Heaton, "Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade", 147.
4. H. Heaton, "Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade", 147.

The immense importance of the cloth trade to both Yorkshire exporters and American importers in the period 1815-50 resulted in a regular movement of native-born and naturalised American merchants and their agents across the Atlantic. At the same time, Yorkshire merchants, merchant-manufacturers, their agents, representatives and observers sailed in the reverse direction to take up temporary or permanent residence in American ports. Even in 1813, in the midst of war, Hezekiah Niles, the Baltimore editor of the Weekly Register, and Anglophobe, felt obliged to complain that there were "fifteen or twenty thousand English merchants, runners, collectors, etc., not naturalised" in the country.¹ This estimate - wildly exaggerated and in actuality probably not exceeding eight hundred or a thousand merchants of all types - nevertheless gives some indication of the apprehension or jingoist sentiments harboured by some against the apparent all-pervading British commercial influence and its non-naturalised representatives within the country especially in time of war. In any case, a great many of these were suffering temporary banishment well away from their normal place of business until early 1815.

1. Niles Weekly Register, 22 May, 5 Jun. 1813: cited by H. Heaton, "The Industrial Immigrant in the United States, 1783-1812", Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc., vol. 95, 5 (Oct. 1951), 520.

Certainly in February 1815, within a few days of the release of the Fishkill colony and his return to the centre of business, David Crowther observed that "New York is not yet so full of Yorkshiremen as it was before the war". This would not be the situation for long. Crowther voyaged to England for a short visit, no doubt to discuss post-war opportunities and possibilities, before returning to New York in the autumn. There he took up board at a new house, No. 5 Park Place, run by Sarah Capstick, Quaker and Yorkshirewoman, who in 1805 had been the proprietress of a dry goods store in Pearl Street, the centre of the New York dry goods and hardware importing business.¹ "Our brotherhood" of boarders consisted of "about half a dozen...., young men of steady habits [living] pretty well on plain food and [paying] \$6 a week", Crowther wrote. Peace naturally germinated optimistic business ideas. Francis and nephew Jeremiah Thompson expanded both their schemes and family representation in New York. Jeremiah visited Rawdon in 1816, returning with his brother Edmund; and

1. Sarah Capstick (or 'Capstake', or 'Capstack') was still a boarding-house keeper in 1821.

cousins Samuel and Francis, Jr., and one or two of Jeremiah's nephews followed shortly. In 1821, Elizabeth, the widow of Christopher Thompson, of Rawdon, married Edward Wilson, "merchant of Philadelphia".¹ In New York, Francis Thompson lived at his own residence at No. 35 Beekman Street, Isaac Wright, his father-in-law and cloth importer, at No. 36, and Benjamin Marshall at nearby No. 10. By 1817, Jeremiah and three other Thompsons, David Crowther and a few more Yorkshire bachelors, including Joshua Walker (later the son-in-law of Francis Thompson) and James Smith, were living at the Park Place boarding house. David Crowther also shared a store with William Wright, Isaac's son, at No. 271 Pearl Street. The "brotherhood" was a compact Yorkshire group, commercially in the import trade, socially at Mrs. Capstick's, and spiritually at Quaker meeting house and Methodist chapel. Apart from business matters, Isaac Wright and Jeremiah Thompson concerned themselves with the New York 'Society for promoting the manumission of slaves...', and the latter with educational provision for the needy of the city and Quaker rights.²

1. Hull Advertiser, 16 Mar. 1821 (Marriage, 2 Mar. 1821, at Friends' Meeting House, St. Helens, Lancs.)

2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 257-59.

Within this Yorkshire-American group, there evolved in the post-war period the most important contribution of all to transatlantic trade - the establishment of a regular line of packet ships plying regularly between New York and Liverpool. Before the Black Ball Line was founded, with its first departure for England in January 1818, transatlantic carriage was effected by so-called 'regular traders' making two round trips annually between Britain and an American port, and by vessels sailing free-lance, the precursor of the 'tramp'. Regular traders left Liverpool in the early Spring, reached New York in May or early June, and returned to Liverpool by early August.^{1.} A second sailing carried out the fall goods, and the return voyage a cargo of cotton to England. As early as 1807, Isaac and William Wright and Francis Thompson ordered the construction of the 384-ton Pacific as a regular trader between New York and Liverpool, in which role the vessel's success, though not insignificant, was limited by embargo and war. By the end of 1815, the ship-owning group of the Wrights and Francis Thompson, encouraged by the possibilities of peace-time trading, were joined by Jeremiah Thompson and Benjamin Marshall.^{2.}

1. This has already been noted in the case of vessels leaving Hull for Quebec and, to a lesser extent, for New York.
2. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States....", 260.

Benjamin Marshall, who had first arrived in New York in 1803, was soon in partnership with his elder brother, Joseph, as an importer of cotton goods. The business quickly developed: instead of sending money to England to pay for his imports of fabrics, Marshall consigned cotton bought in New York, thereby profiting in both directions. By purchasing cotton direct from Southern planters rather than through New York merchants, he was able to increase his profits still further. He wintered several years in Georgia, sent agents to New Orleans and invested capital in vessels engaged in the Southern trade.¹ His faith in the value of regular transatlantic traders was also enhanced by his marriage to the daughter of Capt. Stanton of the Pacific.

Basing their Black Ball Line on the Pacific, Amity (built 1816), Courier and James Monroe (built 1817), the group planned to send out their vessels regularly and promptly throughout the year, a historical innovation for ocean travel. A regular timetable would ensure sailings of each vessel on three round trips a year between Liverpool and New York. The James Monroe left New York on 5th January 1818, and the Courier sailed from Liverpool the previous day, with very few passengers, but

1. W.R. Bagnall, The Textile Industries of the United States...., p.510.

with an immense cargo of cloth and other manufactures destined for the group and nearly seventy other firms and individuals, including David Crowther, Henry Buckley, son of the Saddleworth manufacturer,^{1.} Coggill and seven other Yorkshiremen. In February 1818, the Amity sailed from New York, and the Pacific from Liverpool.^{2.} Vessels continued to leave promptly from both ports on this inaugural service despite the elements of weather and vagaries of trade. In 1822, other owners followed suit in Boston and Philadelphia. In the same year, two further lines were established between New York and Liverpool, and the Black Hall Line countered these by increasing its sailings to two per month from each port. New York - Le Havre services were inaugurated in 1822 and 1823, as well as one to and from London in 1824.^{3.}

The introduction by the Yorkshire-American consortium of the first regular line of packets between

1. John Buckley, Henry's father, also shipped woollens from Liverpool to Charleston, S.C., by 'regular trader' (John Buckley & Sons, Broadhead, Saddleworth, to John McAdam & Co., Liverpool, 11 Jul. 1817: Buckley Family. Business Papers, 1805-22).
2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 260-62.
3. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 263.

New York and Liverpool produced two important results. For the first time in transatlantic trading history, manufacturers and merchants alike were assured of a prompt, regular and reliable service, augmented by 'regular traders' and free-lance operators. The Black Ball also provided the precedent for later schemes, especially Samuel Cunard's, after his success in 1839 in gaining the Atlantic mail contract at the expense of Bristol rivals.¹ A second important result was that an invaluable stimulus was given to New York as the centre of shipping and commerce on the Atlantic seaboard. Boston and Philadelphia were certainly aware of this possibility, as witness their packet lines to Liverpool, prompted in 1822-23, and their well founded apprehension that New York would soon monopolise the Atlantic trade. New York's strategic position was further strengthened by the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, enabling the city to become the natural gateway for goods and people passing northwards up the Hudson river, then westwards by the Canal, to areas north and south of

1. S.G. Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society in England, 1815-1885 (London, 1964), pp.144-45; A. Demangeon, The British Isles (London, 1949), pp.200-01. The Cunard Line established a regular fortnightly service from Liverpool to New York by the Britannia in 1840.

the Great Lakes.¹ The advent of the railways confirmed the City's position yet again.

The ingenuity of Jeremiah Thompson and Benjamin Marshall also played an important part in New York's developing role. The city's position as an importer of British manufactured goods was well established. New York, however, exported initially few of the raw materials required by British importers - tobacco, naval stores, and above all, cotton.² All these products were grown in the South and were more likely to be shipped from Southern ports, such as Savannah, Charleston and

1. Somervell, pp.109-10.

2. J. Potter, "Atlantic Economy, 1815-1860...", p.17, emphasises the importance of cotton: "For four decades before the American Civil War cotton was king not merely of the American South but also of the Atlantic economy. By the end of the 1820's, South Carolina and Georgia had become practically the only source of Lancashire's raw material; at about the same time, raw cotton became America's leading export. For almost forty years British cotton manufacturers depended upon the U.S.A. for well over three-quarters of their raw cotton supplies".

New Orleans, direct to Britain.^{1.} Thompson and Marshall therefore conceived that if these commodities, instead of being shipped direct from Southern ports, were to be first conveyed to New York, the city's role as a developing entrepôt would benefit from additional export trade; and regular traders from that port - after 1818, not least the Black Ball Line - would gain by having full cargoes. The entrepreneurs, however, were not so naive as to believe that all Southern exports could be redirected by way of New York. Marshall spent several winters in Georgia buying cotton. Jeremiah Thompson invested heavily in shipping of all types to carry his purchases of cotton both to New York and direct to Britain, and he probably had a hand in the Philadelphia-Liverpool packet line started in 1822. By the mid-1820's, Thompson lay claim to being the largest cotton trader in the world, and New York was greatly indebted to the acumen and

1. John Buckley, of Saddleworth, as already noted, was shipping woollens from Liverpool to Charleston in 1817: few cotton was sent in return (Buckley Family Business Papers, 1805-22). Joseph Holroyd, of Leeds, was also consigning woollens from Liverpool to New Orleans about the same time, in return for cotton from the Gulf port (Joseph Holroyd & Son, Business Records, 1788-1821, specif. Acct. Bk., 1812-21). Thomas Cook, the Dewsbury blanketmaker, was at times following the same practice in at least the early 1820's, and through Liverpool, was receiving remittances from America in the form of cotton (F.J. Glover, "A Yorkshire blanketmaker's diary", B.T.S.J., 1962-63, 99-100, 104, esp. entries for 2 Jul., 28 Sep., 2 Oct. 1821, 13 Mar. 1822). Alexander Young, brother of John and David Moungh, Leeds woollen merchants and manufacturers, died in New Orleans in 1820 (Hull Rockingham, 27 May 1820), and William Brook, commission merchant, formerly of Wakefield, married there in 1824 (Yorkshire Gazette, 15 May 1824).

foresight of him and his associates.^{1.}

The end of the Anglo-American war brought an almost immediate resumption of trade between the two countries. Floods of woollen imports, held back by some six years of restraint or embargo on trade, soon reached New York and other ports.^{2.} Prices, high at first, soon fell to the point of collapse, as did the juvenile American textile manufacturing industry. In Britain, under distressing conditions basically caused by the change-over from a war - to peace-time economy, the Corn Laws were passed in 1815. In the United States, not least from Hezekiah Niles, of Baltimore, clamour arose for protection from what was seen as dumping by British exporters and their agents resident in America.

1. W.R. Bagnall, p.510; H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 263-64.
2. In the period, 1816-20, an annual average of 157,000 pieces of British "cloths of all kinds" was exported to the U.S.A., a figure unsurpassed until the five-year period, 1831-35 (J. Potter, "Atlantic Economy..." p.36, Table 11). Even during 1815, the first partial year of peace, 347 ships arrived in Liverpool from the U.S.; 217 returned to the U.S., about one-third to New York (H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 265).

Whilst Niles's claims that British exporters were deliberately plotting to destroy American manufactures were rarely substantiated, the great volume of British exports, especially of woollens reaching the United States certainly weakened the development of native manufactures. Niles was surely on stronger ground when he claimed that British tariffs sharply limited the entry of American produce; that trading agents in the United States understated (in some cases, this must be admitted) the true value of the goods they were importing; that these agents were draining the country of hard currency; and that they sold their goods through auctioneers to the detriment of respectable American merchants selling privately.^{1.} By the American tariff of 1816, a 25 per cent duty was imposed on woollen and cotton imports.^{2.}

After the deluge of woollen imports into New York in 1815, and the general saturation of the market, commercial affairs took on a depressing aspect the following year for Yorkshire traders permanently or temporarily resident there. In May 1816, David Crowther was obliged to report that "Times are remarkably bad; we can sell no goods at all at present, and the people are failing all around us every day".^{3.} 'A respectable mercantile house in

1. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 265-66.

2. Ibid.; J. Potter, "Atlantic Economy...", p.38.

3. Ibid., "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 267.

New York', writing to a Leeds correspondent in the October, confirmed "the very miserable state of our markets for almost all kinds of English manufactures; there are very few articles that will even bring the sterling cost, after sacrificing all the charges, but the great mass of goods will hardly pay the expenses upon them. The losses to the English merchant must be such as surpass all former losses. No sales can be effected, and our principal merchants are daily stopping payment - the prospect is sufficiently dreary, and time, and the absence of importations, can alone effect a remedy".^{1.} Matters were no better by May 1817. "I have been dodging about in this City all the time", wrote Crowther from New York, "and have seen nothing but Bales, Bad Bills and Bankruptcy. We have had a bad trade since the fall of 1815 for cloths and cassimeres".^{2.} Prospects seemed to brighten in 1818. Observed one correspondent: "Business during the fall [Autumn 1818] ... has been very brisk, and a good deal of money has been made; importers and agents do well....The greatest part of goods imported are sold at auction, and the retailers have ample profit..."^{3.}

1. Letter dated 14 Oct. 1816: extract in Hull Rockingham, 23 Nov. 1816.
2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 267.
3. 'Late resident in [Hull]', New York, to 'friend in Hull', 9 Mar. 1819: extract in Hull Rockingham, 10 Apr. 1819.

In the spring of 1819, however, when Crowther sailed to England, he found his home area in the depths of industrial depression and large numbers of unemployed cloth-dressers, croppers and clothiers in Leeds and neighbourhood seeking (unsuccessfully) official assistance to emigrate with their families to North America.¹ The position was no better in the Dewsbury area where "after [March 1819] four-fifths of the population of the labouring classes were out of employment, or employed by the Parish on the Town's Road, or on the Dewsbury and Leeds Road which is at this time making".² The Yorkshire fear that "the manufacturers of this country have acquired capacities for clothing more persons than we can find in the world to clothe" could expect no transatlantic relief.³ When Crowther returned to New York in the July, his associates were "lamenting over the hardness of the times...I fear you [in Yorkshire] will have a poor carrying on the coming winter. You must not look for any good from this country. Great numbers are out of employ, and returning to England by every ship".⁴

1. Hull Rockingham, 24 April, 8, 22 May, (7 Aug.) 1819; Yorkshire Gazette, 22, 29 May 1819.
2. F.J. Glover, "A Yorkshire blanketmaker's diary", 93: entry for 15 May 1819.
3. Hull Rockingham, 24 Apr. 1819 (from Leeds Mercury).
4. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 267.

Thomas Cook, of Dewsbury, made a similar entry in his diary in August: "...bad accounts continue to arrive from America, credit there at a low ebb, great many failures taking place".¹ Some weeks later, Crowther was again reporting unfavourably on business prospects: "Our friends the Thompsons are getting sick of doing so little business", he wrote. "Jeremiah can scarcely conceal his chagrin. Their losses on bad debts are immense...They have sold off their goods generally as they arrive at auction at ruinously low prices, but are now going on the plan of spreading them over the United States...In fact every town of any consideration where there is an auctioneer is supplied with their goods". The Yorkshire associates were also facing the competition of native manufactures. John Barrow, whose mill near New York Crowther had visited, was manufacturing mainly satinettes, and some 'blue cloths' selling at £4 a yard with a net profit of 25 per cent. Jeremiah Thompson's displeasure was naturally incurred and he planned to import satinettes at doubtful profit to scotch this effrontery. Benjamin Marshall was facing similar problems for he "reshipped by the last packet a great quantity of coarse [cotton] checks. They have always been a great article of consumption, but are now made here. The importation of India cotton goods of low quality is completely done up".²

1. F.J. Glover, "A Yorkshire blanketmaker's diary", 94; entry for 25 Aug. 1819.
2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 267-68.

Between 1820 and the end of 1825, business followed the full curve from gradual improvement to boom, then to collapse. In 1820, with cotton goods selling well, Crowther was hoping that the same would soon apply to woollens.¹ Thomas Cook was gradually developing an important American trade in blankets, so that by the middle of the 1830's, he was the largest single supplier of this commodity to the United States, remaining dominant for a further three decades.² 1821 appears to have been a generally satisfactory year for Cook in his American dealings. In June, "Mr. Randolph of New York called [at Dewsbury] and gave us an order for points and flushings"³; and in July, "A Mr. Ure of Glasgow and his son called upon us soliciting consignments to New York and Jamaica".⁴ A few weeks later, "Mr. Dunn and Mr. Jones from

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 268.
2. F.J. Glover, "Thomas Cook and the American Blanket Trade in the Nineteenth Century", Business History Review(1961), XXXV, 226-46, passim; "A Yorkshire blanketmaker's diary", 90-91, 108. Cook supplied the American market in four main ways: (a) by direct consignment to American auctioneers; (b) by selling to British export houses; (c) by accepting orders from American importers in the U.S.; (d) by soliciting orders in the U.S. through a direct representative.
3. F.J. Glover, "A Yorkshire blanketmaker's diary", 99, 108-09: entry for 21 Jun. 1821. 'Points' were blankets adapted to North American market requirements. Instead of the usual white, these blankets were brightly coloured: short cotton stripes were inserted in the edge of the blanket to show relative value 'in terms of their intended change for furs and skins', especially for the Hudson's Bay and American Fur Companies. 'Flushings' were large, thick heavy blankets.
4. Ibid.: entry for 2 Jul. 1821.

Philadelphia gave us an order this day for £1,300 value in Blankets, they spent the evening with us and remained all night";¹ and at the end of the year, "Mr. W. Brown of Liverpool and Mr. S.T. Jones of Philadelphia (for the latter we have from £4,000 to £5,000 order for blankets and Ladies Cloths) dined with us today".² Also in December, Cook "wrote to Thos. Dixon & Company of New York, offered them a commission to do our business there and to guarantee the debts."³ Dixon was appointed in 1822 as the firm's permanent link with the North American trade and he visited Dewsbury in the July.⁴ Early 1822 was as encouraging as the previous year. Cook recorded that he "Took an order from J. Acadam & Co."⁵ for 7 bales of Blankets -

1. F.J. Glover, "A Yorkshire blanketmaker's diary", 100; entry for 23 Aug. 1821.
2. Ibid., 102: entry for 29 Dec. 1821. 'Ladies Cloths' were light-weight broadcloths.
3. Ibid., 101: entry for 10 Dec. 1821.
4. Ibid., 90, 105: entry for 27 Jul. 1822.
5. John Buckley, of Saddleworth, also consigned woollens for the American market through John McAdam (John Buckley & Sons to John McAdam & Co. Liverpool, 11 Jul. 1817: Buckley Family. Business Papers, 1805-22).

cotton selling better - many goods shipped to America the last three months".¹ His entry for New Year's Day, 1823, however, noted that "...Business does not look so well as it did the opening of last year - the American is represented as being over done in most descriptions of low woollens²; Yet", he added optimistically, "I think as wool is so very cheap there must be a demand for goods in our line in America, and as they are finding their way to the East and to South America we may reasonably hope for a fair demand again in the spring".³ Cook's optimism was well founded for 1823 and 1824 were the firm's most profitable years before 1830. In 1815-16, Benjamin Gott had shipped great quantities of cloth to America; and in the early 1820s, he again supplied some very large orders, especially for J. and T.H. Perkins of Boston, until the summer of 1825, by which time the boom was fast

1. F.J. Glover, "A Yorkshire blanketmaker's diary", 104: entry for 13 Mar. 1822.
2. Hugh Buckley observed that "the Americans are the principal purchasers here [Lisbon] in the low sorts to wool" for their own manufactures. (Hugh Buckley, Lisbon, to H. Schofield & Co., Liverpool, 20 Feb. 1822: Buckley Family Business Papers, 1805-22).
3. F.J. Glover, "A Yorkshire blanketmaker's diary", 107.

disappearing and some of his customers were nearing insolvency.^{1.} In another area of Yorkshire textiles, in the early 1820s - certainly by 1825 - the Leeds firm of John Marshall & Co. had developed a substantial market for linen yarn in the United States.^{2.}

In the decade between the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent and the commercial collapse of late 1825, large numbers of British agricultural and industrial workers emigrated to the United States. Included in these, not least, were substantial numbers of Yorkshire and Lancashire textile workers. Contemporary commercial migration from the textile areas of the West Riding also occurred particularly in the form of family representation of manufacturing concerns.

Joseph Dixon, a "merchant from Morley", arrived in New York in 1815: three years later he explained himself more precisely as a clothmaker, but that he was living in New York "to sell cloths sent him from his manufactory in Morley". Buckley Bent reached

1. H. Heston, "Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade", 158.
2. W.G. Rimmer, Marshalls of Leeds, Flex Spinners of Leeds, 1788-1886 (Cambridge, 1960), pp.200,213. By 1841, the U.S.A. was for a short period the Marshall's second market after home sales.

Boston from Saddleworth in 1816; and he moved to New York in 1824, at the age of 29, staying there until 1829. Samuel Bradbury, also of Saddleworth, landed in America in 1822, and from then until 1829, sold cloth in the major Atlantic-coast cities.¹ Joseph Overend, 'merchant', the eldest son of a Morley merchant, was in New York by at least 1823-24 and he remained there until his death in 1827, aged only 24.²

Solomon Brown, agent of the Holbeck merchants and woollen cloth manufacturers, Thomas and Benjamin Hogg, was in New York in at least 1818-19, as was George Young of the Leeds firm of John and David Young. Another brother, Alexander Young, was in New Orleans in 1820.³ John Gott, the son of William Gott, manufacturer of Leeds, died in Baltimore in 1821.⁴ The status of David Wilby, a former Ossett 'clothier', is less certain. His was a sad story for his death "in America" in 1822 was caused by "a hurt on his passage,

1. H. Heaton, "York Cloth Traders in the United States...", 268-69.
2. Ibid., 269; Bradford & Huddersfield Courier, & General West Riding Advertiser, 10 Jan. 1828: obit., 7 Dec. 1827.
3. Yorkshire Gazette, 22 May 1819; Hull Advertiser, 22 May 1819; Hull Rockingham, 21 Aug. 1819, 27 May 1820; Wakefield & Halifax Journal, 21 May 1819.
4. Yorkshire Gazette, 23 Jun. 1821.

which terminated in a mortification"; and in England, he had twice been declared bankrupt, had twice petitioned for his discharge and twice left England "to avoid the importunities of his creditors".^{1.}

William Brook, a commission merchant from Wakefield, was in New Orleans in 1824.^{2.} Thomas Clark, "merchant, late of Drighlington, near Leeds", died in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1825.^{3.}

Several other businessmen concerned with Yorkshire textiles were in the United States either just before or shortly after the slump of late 1825-26. Jonathan Ogden, merchant, a native of Holbeck and brother of the late Robert Ogden, of Park Square, Leeds, died in New York, aged 63, at the beginning of 1833.^{4.} Joseph Harris, a merchant, formerly of

1. Hull Advertiser, 29 Nov. 1822.

2. Yorkshire Gazette, 15 May 1824.

3. Bradford & Wakefield Chronicle, & General Weekly Advertiser, 5 Nov. 1825; obit., 24 Aug. 1825.

4. Leeds Mercury, 9 Feb. 1833: obit., 1 Jan. 1833. Directory references to the firm of Ogden pre-date 1820. The Leeds Directory, 1798 (p.39) lists "Ogden, Joseph, Holbeck"; and the Commercial Directory, 1814-15 (p.80) and 1816-17 (p.146), note under the classified section of 'Merchants', "Ogden, Robert, (back of) Park Lane [Leeds]".

Huddersfield, died in Brooklyn in 1834.¹ The Bilbrough (or Bilborough) family of Gildersome was well represented.² Joseph Bilbrough died in New York in 1839, aged 56.³ His eldest son, Francis, died of consumption, aged 27, in Philadelphia in 1844;⁴ and his youngest daughter, Sarah, staying in or returning to Yorkshire, died at Fulneck in 1853.⁵ Francis, the son of Samuel and grandson of Joseph Bilbrough, died in New York in 1855.⁶

Sparse personal press references to the Leeds partnership of Labron and Ives, woollen cloth and 'American Merchants' lead to interesting conjectures. John Labron, "of New York, and formerly of Leeds" was probably resident in America in the 1820s, but

1. Leeds Mercury, 31 Jan. 1835; Halifax Guardian, 5 Feb. 1835; obit., 29 Dec. 1834.
2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 226, notes the surname only.
3. Leeds Mercury, 12 Oct. 1839: obit., 9 Sep. 1839.
4. Ibid., 25 May 1844; Bradford Observer, 30 May 1844; Halifax Guardian, 1 Jun. 1844: obit., 23 Mar. 1844.
5. Leeds Mercury, 17 Dec. 1853: obit., 8 Dec. 1853, aged 33.
6. Ibid., 10 Feb. 1855: obit., 11 Jan. 1855, aged 11.

returned to Leeds in 1831 to marry Eliza, the eldest daughter of James Hargreave, woollen manufacturer of Kirkstall.¹ Labron's partnership in the American trade was certainly formed by 1835, probably much earlier, for at the beginning of 1836, George R. Ives, noted specifically as being "of the firm of Messrs. Labron and Ives", married Mary Olmsted in New York.² In 1837, Labron and Ives are noted as 'American merchants' at No. 17 Albion Street, and from 1839 to 1841, at No. 87 Badinghall Street, Leeds. The last entry in 1843 notes John Labron (only) as a 'woollen cloth manufacturer' at the same business address, with a home at Kirkstall Bridge.³

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 10 Dec. 1831: married, 8 Dec. 1831. Labron perhaps received Hargreave's cloth in the U.S.
2. Leeds Mercury, 27 Feb. 1836: married 27 Jan. 1836.
3. White, History, Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire (1837), pp.579, 651; General and Commercial Directory of...Leeds (1839), p.121; Pigot, Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography (1841), pp.75, 213; White, Directory and Topography of....Leeds (1843), p.75. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 286, also notes the 1850 New York Directory entry for 'Ives' under the heading of 'Importers of Woollens'.

Between 1815 and 1830, whilst over-simplification must be avoided, the impression gained is of a far greater commercial emphasis being placed upon Yorkshire manufacturers marketing their own wares through a brother or son resident in the United States. Indeed, American tariff regulations unwittingly played their part. By the Tariff Act of 1816, a 25 per cent duty was imposed on woollen and cotton imports.^{1.} If a partner in the United States received woollens manufactured by the firm in Yorkshire, duties would be levied on the gross figure of invoice price plus 10 per cent freight charge. If, however, the manufacturing brother or father in Yorkshire sold his goods to the brother or son resident in America for cash, allowing the normal 5 per cent discount for cash, duty would be levied on a somewhat lower gross total, a saving of one-twentieth in customs duty. This saving was by no means negligible considering the substantial undertakings of many importers. Consequently, some of the importers long resident in America such as Jeremiah Thompson and William Sheepshanks gained this benefit by quietly dissolving partnerships with their Yorkshire manufacturing associates;^{2.} and

1. J. Potter, "Atlantic Economy...", p.38.

2. Sheepshanks, formerly of Leeds, was in 1804 a "partner in the house of Messrs. Hobson, Sheepshanks and Lawson" (Hull Packet, 19 Jun. 1804).

David Crowther tried vainly to persuade his brothers in Churwell to do the same. For much the same reason, many of the Yorkshire newcomers of the 1820s and 1830s claimed that they were buying the goods they received, even the goods imported from a manufacturing brother or father.^{1.}

Buckley Bent, however, who had arrived in Boston from Saddleworth in 1816 at the age of 21, aimed more widely than simply selling consignments from home. True, in Boston, 1816-24, and then in New York, 1824-29, he did buy and import goods on his own account; but he also received shipments from Yorkshire manufacturers, imported woollens on commission for American buyers, and sold American-made cloths, also on commission. Buckley Bent became a naturalised American citizen, and until its failures after the 1826-28 depression, was a stockholder in the James Walcott Manufacturing Company at Southbridge, Mass.^{2.} Between 1823 and 1827, Buckley, in the United States, partnered his father and

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 269.
2. The Walcott woollen factory made broadcloths and cassimeres, 1820-30; the mill was then sold to the firm's selling agents, Tiffany, Sales and Hitchcock, 82, Kilby Street, Boston (W.R. Bagnall, p.567).

brother William in their cloth-manufacturing concern at Marsden, buying on commission for American houses. In 1827, the firm dissolved and the following year William Bent sailed for America to become a merchant. Conversely, once William had been introduced to the American trade, Buckley Bent returned to Saddleworth in 1829 to manufacture cloths for William and other New York buyers.^{1.}

David Crowther, now aged 37, also returned to Yorkshire for commercial and personal reasons in October 1825. Crowther, who had first sailed for America in late 1810, doubtless had much to discuss with his brothers in the increasing gloom of business conditions. In the end, his return to Churwell became permanent, probably for three main reasons: the trade depression of the next two to three years; his marriage in 1827 to Elizabeth Boggatt, of Kippax; and the 1827-28 collapse of the Thompson empire. The Crowthers continued to trade with the Americans, sending goods to American merchants or to New York and Philadelphia auctioneers, and selling their woollens by commission merchants in Canada, the West Indies and South America. For several years while in America,

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 270.

Crowther had tried to persuade his sister Ann (Barrett) to allow her son George to sail for New York to learn the business and ultimately to take over from him. Ann refused, and George stayed in England on reaching his majority and the end of his apprenticeship in 1825, probably because trade conditions were worsening and because his uncle David was by then in England. Barrett, however, manufactured cloths for North and Latin America.^{1.}

The 1827-28, collapse of the Thompson business empire - painstakingly, courageously, and at times perhaps dangerously - built up over a quarter of a century, is a story sad to relate. Whilst the Thompsons, in company with other cloth importers, and Jeremiah, in particular, as a cotton speculator, ship-owner and woollen importer, were all suffering by mid-1825 from the decline in business, there was barely an indication that disaster was almost imminent. Even in early 1825, Jeremiah Thompson was buying a new 500-ton vessel in Philadelphia to augment his fleet and his reputation of being the world's most extensive cotton-dealer and America's largest ship-owner.

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 248, 270-72.

In the vast scope and diversification of the Thompsons' enterprises lay both strength and weakness.^{1.}

The crash in the late summer of 1827 began when Jeremiah Thompson had sent large consignments of cotton to his Liverpool agents, Cropper, Benson & Co. As usual, Thompson expected an advance from them in part exchange for the shipments, and drew drafts on this to pay for cotton he had purchased. With cotton prices falling and the Liverpool agents disinclined to accept either the size or reckoned value of Jeremiah's consignments, Cropper, Benson & Co. refused to honour his drafts, returning them to New York. As soon as Leeds received news of the protested drafts, the home manufacturing base at Rawdon found itself in difficulties.^{2.} There, William Thompson suspended payments and informed the firm's creditors in October 1827 that he hoped to meet half the firm's debts of £120,000 by selling property in England; and the other half would be met by calling in American debts and by help from Jeremiah. The Rawdon mill continued to run, though more slowly, and William immediately sailed for New York. Jeremiah was able to give little assistance because of his own problems. He had to meet his own cotton debts. He had earlier stood surety for the

1. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 272.

2. Leeds Mercury, 6 Oct. 1827. William's mill at Rawdon employed a "vast number of families".

customs bonds of several Yorkshire importers in New York: at least one, John Grimshaw, was now insolvent, leaving Jeremiah liable for a minimum of \$17,000 duties payable to the U.S. Customs.¹ Moreover, Jeremiah could not redeem his own customs bonds, and Francis Thompson, who had stood surety for at least \$30,000 worth of them, also faced disaster.²

Despondently, William Thompson returned to England and was forced into bankruptcy. The local press observed: "The magnitude and intricacy of their concerns, involved as they are by engagements on both sides of the Atlantic, have rendered this expedient necessary, and the last accounts from the United States prove that the English creditors have little to expect from that quarter".³

1. John Grimshaw may well have been indirectly related to Jeremiah Thompson. In January 1825, "Mr. J. Thompson, merchant, [married] Ann Grimshaw, second daughter of the late Mr. John Grimshaw, all of Rawdon", at the Friends' Meeting House, Rawdon (Yorkshire Gazette, 22 Jan. 1825). The "Mr. J. Thompson" referred to in the announcement was not the Jeremiah Thompson who remained a bachelor. A John Grimshaw, "a native of Yorkshire, and many years a resident of Liverpool, New York and Mobile", died at Somerville, Mobile, 8 Nov. 1839, of yellow fever (Leeds Mercury, 28 Dec. 1839).
2. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 272-73.
3. Hull Rockingham, 12 Apr. 1828.

From the Rawdon quarter, some relief was obtained by the auctioning of William's estate and the tools of his trade, industrial and agricultural - farming stock, draught and pedigree horses, cows, wagons, carts, ploughs and harrows.^{1.}

During that same summer of 1828, Francis Thompson & Nephews in New York suspended payment and were obliged to sell their interest in the Black Ball Line. Jeremiah Thompson also had to sell his share of the packets. The Wrights and Benjamin Marshall, however, purchased the interests in both cases. Isaac Wright, that "venerable and highly respectable merchant[belonging]to the Society of Friends", died in August 1832, aged 72;^{2.} and his interest was added to that of his son, Thomas. Benjamin Marshall sold his interest in the packets to his brother, Joseph, in 1833, and Joseph Marshall and Thomas Wright, the following year, sold the line to two of the ships' captains and a firm of commission merchants.

1. Leeds Mercury, 3 May, 28 Jun. 1828.

2. Ibid., 15 Sep.1832.

A cloud continued to hang over Jeremiah Thompson for the rest of his life. In the absence of a bankruptcy law in New York State, Jeremiah could not clear up his affairs as an 'insolvent debtor'. In England, a lawsuit at Lancaster Assizes in 1829 argued the case of £27,000 owed to him by the Rathbones of Liverpool for cotton sold on his account. British assignees claimed the money, but Jeremiah argued that he and William had not been in partnership since 1818 - although the Rawdon firm was still operating under the name of 'Jeremiah and William Thompson'. In any case, Jeremiah argued, he had planned to give Francis Thompson £10,000 to cover the customs bonds. Although noted again as a New York merchant in 1832, Jeremiah had to obtain release from his customs duties' debt in 1834 under a provision 'for the relief of certain insolvent debtors' in exchange for his legal rights to a £4,000 legacy. Jeremiah's death occurred in November 1835.¹

Francis Thompson's future, whilst difficult, was less desperate. Although he had stood surety for at least \$30,000 worth of Jeremiah's customs bonds, and in consequence had been forced to sell his

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 273-74.

interest in the Black Ball Line in 1828, 'Francis Thompson & Nephews' continued to share in the Line's operation. He and the nephews, allied with Caleb Grimshaw in Liverpool, opened an immigration office in New York. After Francis Thompson's death in 1832 from cholera,^{1.} his nephew Samuel greatly promoted the business with two of his own nephews, introducing a line of regular immigrant vessels and a system for American immigrants to transfer funds to would-be emigrants in England.^{2.}

Of all the Yorkshire associates, Benjamin Marshall's future was the brightest. Prior to the economic depression of 1826-28, Marshall, the entrepreneur in raw cotton exports and cotton cloth imports, decided in 1823 to invest part of his accumulated wealth in native cotton manufacture. He bought several lots of land in the Whitestown area of Oneida County, in up-state New York: in May 1825, Amos Wetmore conveyed to Marshall land "with the privilege of constructing a canal or tail-race sufficient to carry off all the waters, required to be carried off from the factory or other works of the said Benjamin Marshall". Also in 1825, the New York Mill

1. "The fathers of the first line of Liverpool packets", Francis Thompson died 10 July 1832, a few weeks before Isaac Wright (Doncaster Gazette, 17 Aug. 1832; Leeds Mercury, 15 Sep. 1832).
2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 274.

(a substantial stone factory, 120 feet x 50 feet, five stories high) was erected and began operations under the partnership of Marshall and Walcott, the former providing the capital and the latter the manufacturing expertise.¹ In addition, in 1826-27, Marshall established the Hudson River Print Works and Ida Mills in Troy, N.Y.; and later, he purchased the Middlebury Cotton Mills, at Middlebury, Vt., and a mill at North Adams, Mass.²

Within a short time, a second building seems to have been added to the first New York Mill. Jonas Booth, a Bradford emigrant in 1828, was almost certainly referring to Benjamin Marshall when he wrote home from Oneida County in 1829. "Mr. Marshall's 2 mills is as large as Mr. John Woods of Bradford", he observed: "...the trade is very brisk in Bed-ticking and Callico, but the Farmer is the most independant, they grow all that they want, they spin their own Yarn and Weave their own cloth...The girls that works in the Mill is dresst as fine as any of the others and is thought of with much respect...there is a great deal of weaving by power looms which 1 weaver will turn off 700 yards per week. All Mr. Marshall's works is by power. A blue dyer can earn 5 to 6 dollars per week; a tailor can earn from 8 to 10 dollars but most of the work is

1. W.R. Bagnall, pp.505, 509-11, 516-17. Benjamin S. Walcott, Jr.: born Cumberland, R.I., 29 Sep. 1786; died Utica, N.Y., 12 Jan. 1862.

2. Ibid., p.516.

done by women, they work for less wages..."¹.

Marshall left the running of the New York warehouse in the hands of his brother, Joseph, and in 1833 sold his interest in the peckets to him.² Benjamin Marshall's manufacturing enterprise, however, continued to develop until 1839. Marshall was sole proprietor of the New York Mills property while he was in partnership with Benjamin S. Walcott and shared in the business profits. In December 1838, Marshall had also purchased the property of the Whitestown Cotton and Woolen Manufacturing Company from Walcott. In mid-1839 Marshall sold to Walcott and his eldest son, William, one-third (to each of them one-sixth) of the property

1. Jonas Booth, New Hartford, Oneida Co., N.Y., to brother and sister, (prob.) Bradford, 20 Mar. 1829: Letters of Emigrants to America (LSE: M627). The letter is addressed to "Mr. Joseph Booth, Stuff Manufacturer - To be left at Mrs. Lupton's, Fleece Inn, Bradford, Yorkshire..." Jonas Booth was evidently the son of Jonas Booth, Sr., of Burnett Field, and a younger brother of Joseph Booth. Jonas Booth, leaving his wife and children in Yorkshire, sailed from Liverpool, 27 Apr. 1828, and landed at New York, 29 May, with "less than 6d." in his pocket. The Hudson river carried him to Albany, and the canal to Utica, thence to New Hartford. Within six miles of that village, Booth found ten mills, nearly all manufacturing cotton goods.
2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 273.

consisting of the middle and upper group of mills;^{1.} and in 1847, Benjamin Marshall sold his entire interest in the mills and business to the Walcotts, before retiring to Troy, N.Y., where he died, aged 75 or 76, on 2nd December 1858.^{2.}

By the late 1820's, it is evident that a new generation of Yorkshire textile merchant was temporarily or permanently resident in New York, Philadelphia and Boston. Whilst Hezekiah Niles' vitriolic outpourings were directed at the British in general, his greatest condemnation was reserved for the "damned Yorkshiremen", who appeared to lose their anonymity only when answering charges of alleged evasions of appropriate tariff rates on their imports. The combination of American tariff policy, business practice and not least human nature, was certain to occasion customs seizures, enquiries and charges.

In 1816, a 25 per cent duty had been imposed on woollen and cotton imports, with no initial discrimination against cheaper cloths. The Act of 1824, however, although still retaining 25 per cent duty for cheaper woollens, increased it for more expensive types to 30 per cent, and after 1825, to 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. The Act of 1828, the so-called

1. The lower group of mills was owned and operated, then and until the mid-1880's, by the Oneida Manufacturing Company.

2. W.R. Bagnall, pp.512-13, 516.

'tariff of abominations', increased import duties still further. The general level of duty on woollens, inclusive of blankets and worsteds, was raised from 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 45 per cent, except for the cheapest cloths invoiced at 50 cents or less per square yard.^{1.}

Moreover, the practice of 'minimum valuation', applied to cottons in 1816, now included woollens.

Woollen cloth invoiced at between 51c. and \$1.00 per square yard was valued at \$1.00, paying 45c. duty per square yard; cloth invoiced at between \$1.01 and \$2.50 was valued at \$2.50, paying duty of 45 per cent of \$2.50; and between \$2.51 and \$4.00, valued at \$4.00, paying 45 per cent of \$4.00.

A straight 45 per cent duty was charged on goods invoiced at over \$4.00. Yorkshire exports included large quantities of very cheap cloth and moderate supplies of cloth invoiced at about \$2.00 to \$2.50 per square yard. The main category, however, was that valued at about 6s.0d. to 7s.0d. per running yard of broadcloth (54 to 60 inches wide). Careful and elaborate

1. J. Potter, "Atlantic Economy...", p.38.

calculations were made both by Yorkshire manufacturers and American merchants to list invoice prices coming within the tariff valuation limits for different widths of cloth. Cloths ranging from 54 inches wide, invoiced at 6s.7½d. (or \$1.46), to 59 inches wide, invoiced at 7s.3d. (or \$1.61), would get in under the \$1.00 valuation. On the one hand, it was impossible to obtain uniform quality and costs for all cloth within a single large batch, and exporters calculated the average price within a bale or even several bales on one invoice; on the other, great quantities of cloth entered American ports invoiced at the average valuation of just under \$1.00!

The scores of seizures, investigations, lawsuits and legal battles of the late 1820's and early 1830's (and again at the end of the 1830's, a legacy of the earlier period) bear witness to the overall assiduity of the New York customs officials - or to their pettiness, according to the viewpoint. Yorkshire exporters and American importers were no longer allowed to average out the value of their bale or invoice, and officials required separate valuations for each and every piece of cloth imported. Goods were examined carefully, official appraisers were employed and cloth merchants required to check invoices.

Many suspected goods were seized, the district attorney investigated, and a case brought against the defendant. In the ensuing legal struggles, mountains of evidence were accumulated from merchants, manufacturers, auctioneers and officials. The claimant frequently pleaded that the only satisfactory way of ascertaining the exact value of the cloth and accuracy of the invoice was to glean information from the manufacturer in Yorkshire. His request of the Judge that a commission of three 'good men and true' - merchants, lawyers or manufacturers - be appointed in the Yorkshire area where the goods had been produced, was usually accepted. These trusted commissioners were to summon witnesses who, under oath, were required to answer a wide array of questions relating to the cost of raw materials, manufacture, production and shipment of the goods under legal consideration. No single phase of production or accounting was barred from investigation. The sealed findings were then taken by one of the commissioners personally to a packet ship captain in Liverpool, who in turn delivered them to the New York court on his landfall. The trial then continued after a gap of several months.^{1.}

1. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 275-77.

Needless to say, much West Riding resentment was directed at the commissioners when they began taking evidence in Leeds, Huddersfield and Saddleworth about 1830. As it was unthinkable that a Yorkshire trader could possibly be guilty of an intentional breach of American customs regulations, there must be other American motives behind the investigations - to discover Yorkshire manufacturing secrets or to gain evidence for increasing duties above the 'abominations' of 1828. In 1832, the Leeds press reported and observed:

"We learn that a seizure of English Woollen goods has been made by the Custom-house of the United States, on the allegation that the goods were entered below their real value, with the fraudulent intention of passing them at a lower rate of duty. The seizure having been appealed against, the [U.S.] government has ordered a commission to be appointed, to examine in England the cost of producing the goods. Several Leeds manufacturers have been examined on the subject, and no less than thirty-six written questions were proposed to them, calculated to elicit answers, showing the cost of every minute process of the manufacture. It is conjectured by some of our manufacturers that the seizure has been made, and the

commission appointed, merely to furnish a pretence and an opportunity for obtaining full information as to the modes and processes of the manufacture of woollens in England, which may be serviceable to our American competitors. They say that the goods seized were not entered below their value, and that the questions put to the individuals examined are such as a manufacturer only could have suggested.¹ We should have thought, seeing the great number of English manufacturers and workmen who have settled in the United States, and the excellence of their own machinery, that it would have been unnecessary for the Government of the United States to have resorted to such a mode of obtaining information. But it is possible the conjecture of our townsmen [in Leeds] may be correct". Then, almost as an afterthought, there is the advice: "At all events, the manufacturers and merchants of this country should be careful not to enter their goods exported to America below their real value".² Further 'evidence' of industrial espionage was forthcoming the following week from a

1. An independent observer would suggest that both the claimant's counsel and district attorney would require the assistance of a manufacturer in formulating the questions to be asked by the commissioners in Yorkshire.

2. Leeds Mercury, 11 Feb. 1832.

Saddleworth manufacturer: "...several commissions... to ascertain the cost of every minute process of the English Woollen Manufactures have been sent into Saddleworth; and...they are believed to be sent at the instance of a Manufacturing Association at New York, established to promote American Manufactures".^{1.}

Despite the scepticism of witnesses, the commissioners generally obtained their evidence, except when the questions delved too deeply into manufacturing secrets, and the claimant in New York rather than the prosecution found comfort in the answers.

In 1832, the duty on imported woollens was again raised, to 50 per cent ad valorem, but the practice of 'minimum valuation' removed. Duties were required to be paid in cash before the importer removed his goods; and after 1832, therefore, cases of alleged evasion of appropriate tariff rates, particularly the one-dollar minimum, disappeared. Prosperity returned, 1832-36, and high protectionist clamour faded. Towards the end of the 1830's, however, there was a resurgence of legal activity against cloth importers. This revival was occasioned by the 'resignation'

1. Leeds Mercury, 18 Feb. 1832.

in 1838 of Swartwort, Collector of the Port of New York, and revelations that between 1829 and 1838, a deficiency of over one million dollars had occurred in his payments to the U.S. Treasury. A subordinate was also suspected in 1838 of allowing goods in at below their real value, to the mutual benefit of both parties. The new Collector of the Port, Hoyt, in brushing clean, started from the base that all importers were attempting to evade correct duties on their goods, and many seizures and lawsuits followed.^{1.}

There is clear evidence from the legal wrangles concerning customs duties and their apparent evasion by New York importers in the early and late 1830's, and from other substantial sources, that the Saddleworth area of Yorkshire was well represented in that city. Henry Buckley, the son of John Buckley, woollen manufacturer of Broadhead, Saddleworth, was a merchant in New York by at least 1805.^{2.} In the depression year of 1826, the Saddleworth district suffered particularly badly:

1. J. Potter, "Atlantic Economy...", p.38:
H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 278-79. In 1841, a Presidential commission investigated the N.Y. Customs House.
2. Buckley Family. Business Papers, 1805-22.

"....in the parish of Delph," it was reported, "there are no fewer than 3,500 persons on the list of paupers,[and as]the prosperity of the district chiefly depends upon the export trade to America and to Spain...., from the present state of the foreign markets, any trade that depends entirely upon these, must be in a deplorable condition".¹ This "export trade to America" was certainly represented across the Atlantic. Buckley Bent spent the years, 1824-29, in New York, after moving from Boston; and between 1823 and 1827, among other commercial activities, he partnered his father and brother William in their cloth-making concern at Marsden, a few miles from Saddleworth, by buying on commission for American houses. As a naturalised American, Bent returned to Saddleworth in 1829, after he had introduced William to the American importing business in New York, and began to manufacture cloths for William and other New York buyers.² Abel Shaw

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 4 Nov. 1826.

2. H. Neston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States....", 270.

left Marsden about 1826 for New York where he bought pieces from manufacturers such as Bent and Bottomley. George Shaw bought the manufactures of his brother in nearby Staleywood, Cheshire.¹ In 1837, Samuel Shaw, a New York merchant, son of James Shaw, of Stones, Saddleworth, returned home to marry Betty Broadbent, the second daughter of William Broadbent, of Carr.² James Aked, of Waters, near Bleak Hey Nook, Saddleworth, went to New York to receive his brother's manufactures of shawls, napkins and cassimeres, but, wrecked in the West Indies, he reached New York after the goods.³

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 279.
2. Halifax Guardian, 28 Jan. 1837; Leeds Mercury, 4 Feb. 1837: marriage at Saddleworth Parish Church, 23 Jan. 1837.
In parenthesis, James Shaw, another native of Saddleworth, father of "a large Industrious Family" and "an excellent Carder", was living in South Leicester, Mass., by at least 1830, probably in 1828 or earlier (Thomas W. Leavitt (ed.), The Hollingworth Letters: Technical Change in the Textile Industry, 1826-37 (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp.39, 56-58, 60-61, 72.
3. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 279.
A 'Black Hey Nook' is situated about 1m. N. of Diggle.

Samuel Bradbury was in the United States from 1820 to 1829, and after a short visit home, he returned for another ten years or so: most of his brother's output at Rye Fields, Saddleworth, was shipped to him. Another Saddleworth Bradbury, John, was present as a merchant in New York in at least 1838-39.¹ William Bradbury, formerly of Woolroad, Saddleworth, may have been in New York for some period in the 1820s, but by 1827, he was a merchant living with his wife and family in Montreal.² From the evidence of their recorded clashes with the New York customs, the following, all from Saddleworth, were trading in that city during the 1830s: Charles Kenworthy,³

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 279, 281.
2. Gravestone, Parish Church of Holy Trinity, Dobcross, Saddleworth (visited 20 Jul. 1972). William and Esther Bradbury's daughter, Sarah Ann, died in Montreal, 22 Jul. 1827, aged 9.
3. A Charles F. Kenworthy, eldest son of the late Edward Kenworthy (Esq.), of New Delph, Saddleworth, married Mary Garside at Leiperville, Delaware Co., Pennsylvania, 20 Jan. 1847 (Halifax Guardian, 27 Feb. 1847). In 1822, Edward Kenworthy was listed at New Delph, Saddleworth, under "Agents and Commission Dealers" in wool (E. Baines, History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York... (Leeds, 1822), I, p.265).

John Schofield,^{1.} William Broadbent,^{2.} Thomas Winterbottom, William Bent,^{3.} Edward Roberts and a clan of Bottomleys.^{4.}

Hoyt, the newly appointed Collector of the Port of New York, set out with great vigour to remove the stigma and discrepancies of the Swartwort Collectorship; and his crusade in the late 1830s, amounting almost to a witch-hunt, was particularly directed at the large group of Saddleworth traders in New York. These Yorkshiremen, with their common interests and origins, Hoyt surmised, must indicate a well conceived plan to evade correct customs duties. In 1838-39, a number of Commissioners were again appointed in the West Riding, especially in the Saddleworth area, to obtain evidence of manufacturing and commercial procedures. In December 1839, Hoyt wrote to a firm of Manchester lawyers outlining his suspicions:

1. Not to be confused with the celebrated John (d. Montville, Conn., ca. 1819-20) and Arthur (b.ca. 1757-died Pittsfield, Mass., 12 Mar. 1827) Scholfield, natives of 'Standich Foot', Saddleworth, who left for the United States in 1793. John Shew, a spinner and weaver, accompanied them (W.R. Bagnall, pp.202-03, 267, 458-59; A.H. Cole, The American Wool Manufacture (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), I,p.88).
2. Probably after 1837 the father - or brother-in-law of Samuel Shew, N.Y. merchant (Halifax Guardian, 28 Jan. 1837; Leeds Mercury, 4 Feb. 1837).
3. The brother of Buckley Bent.
4. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 279.

"The 'Yorkshiremen' as they are familiarly called here, and especially those from Saddleworth, have been linked together for years in extensive efforts to practise impositions upon us; and they have been in the habit, for years, of invoicing goods to each other at prices immensely below their value. Following is a list of the names we suppose to have been engaged in this business".^{1.}

The 'list' included thirty-one familiar names, ending in Schofield, Shaw, Taylor^{2.} and Wood.

Rumour had it that a group of traders in Saddleworth and their representatives in New York, known officially as 'the Saddleworth Spec. Company' and unofficially as 'the Spec.', was operating in order to slip woollens through the Customs at artificially reduced values. No firm evidence about the group - or gang, according to the viewpoint - could be obtained in New York. Nor was information forthcoming from Yorkshire, despite the standard question about the possible existence of such an "association or company of persons in Saddleworth" included in every questionnaire prepared by the district attorney for the Yorkshire commissioners

1. Cited by H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 280.
2. A James S. Taylor, New York merchant, married Frances Amelia, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Shaw, of Furlane, Saddleworth, at Saddleworth, 27 Jun. 1848 (Wakefield & W.R. Herald, 30 Jun. 1848; Wakefield Journal, 30 Jun. 1848).

in 1838-39. The nearest to an admission was made by William Bottomley, under interrogation in New York, and this disclosed little:

"There are some individuals they call by that name. There is Buckley Bent, John Bradbury and Abel Shaw. They are in the woollen business, but not that exclusively. Some people say they are [co-partners in trade], but as to the truth of it I know nothing. They send a lot of cloth here. Report says it comes consigned to Mr. John Taylor, jun., but I can go no farther than what the public say on the subject".^{1.}

The trader, William Bottomley, had gone to the United States in the early 1830's when aged about twenty. His father, James Bottomley, manufacturer of Greenfield House, Saddleworth, was making cloths for

1. Cited by H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 281.

the American market by 1822; and from then until 1827 was shipping these to Buckley Bent who received $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent commission on their sale. Later arrangements provided for the sale of pieces to Buckley Bent, or after 1829 to William Bent, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent profit on manufacturing and other costs. Additionally, Buckley or William Bent gained 1d. per yard profit on any goods they sold which James Bottomley had bought in the textile market and consigned to New York. James Bottomley, Jr., sailed for New York in the early 1830s as a merchant, to be joined shortly afterwards by his two brothers, William and John, who took up their duties in his counting house and warehouse. Their business prospered greatly.^{1.}

From the autumn of 1837 to the spring of 1838, many gloomy reports about the state of manufacturing emanated from Saddleworth. One report read:

"The woollen cloth trade is very slack indeed. It has not been so dull since the year 1826. Very few goods are manufactured for export. Weavers and dyers have little more than half employment".^{2.} Another observed:

1. Leeds Mercury, 19 Feb. 1842; Wakefield & W.R. Herald, 25 Feb. 1842; H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 281.

2. Halifax Guardian, 14 Nov. 1837.

"The Woollen Cloth trade is in a depressed state.

Most of the goods manufactured are striped kerseymeres - 40 and 40. Dyers and spinners and weavers have from three to four days' per week - some are totally without employment".^{1.} Yet another recorded: "The woollen cloth manufacture of Saddleworth and the neighbourhood is in a depressed state - the trade was never known to be so dull. The weavers, dyers, and spinners, are not earning on an average more than six or eight shillings per week; it, therefore, becomes a matter of difficulty for families of from five to eight individuals to exist".^{2.} Matters were no better in Saddleworth by May 1838: "The woollen cloth trade has not been in such a depressed state for several years past; a great number of dyers, spinners and weavers are entirely without work, and others have not half employment. Yet we are glad to state that manufacturers say they will not reduce wages. There are no prospects of amendment at present".^{3.}

1. Halifax Guardian, 28 Nov. 1837.

2. Ibid., 19 Dec. 1837.

3. Ibid., 15 May 1838.

Yet, despite all the gloom and depression in Saddleworth, James Bottomley, Jr., received, almost contemporaneously, between August 1837 and March 1838, 452 bales in twenty-five shipments! The paradox is accentuated by William Bottomley's estimation in July 1839 that he sold between \$350,000 and \$400,000 worth of cloth in just over a year.^{1.} Collector Hoyt suspected that he knew part of the reason for the Bottomleys' successful trading in a period of general despondency for most merchants.

The Bottomleys' import business ran with few apparent problems during Swertwort's administration, but as soon as Hoyt took over his position, storm clouds began to gather over the brothers. One of fifteen packages of cloth received by Bottomley in March 1838 by the Roscoe was extracted at random for inspection, and the appraisement revealed a small discrepancy between the invoiced valuation and the appraiser's estimated valuation. The other fourteen packages were checked, and the difference between the invoiced and appraiser's valuations was calculated at £500, or a difference in duty payable of \$1,090. The difference between the total values could only be considered as 'intent to defraud'.

1. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 281.

The consignment by the Roscoe was seized, Bottomley's warehouse was raided, 260 pieces of cloth sent earlier from England were removed for re-appraisal against invoiced prices, and searches were made farther afield in Philadelphia and Baltimore for Bottomley goods. James Bottomley was arrested on two charges: one, for 'intent by false valuation to evade and defraud the revenue'; and two, for bribing a deputy-collector, James Campbell. Bottomley was released on bail - Corlies, an auctioneer of Yorkshire cloth, standing surety for \$4,000 - and immediately fled to Canada, then England. William Bottomley was left behind to defend the case.

At the trial, the prosecution alleged that James Bottomley had been able 'to evade and defraud the revenue' with the full connivance of James Campbell, quickly dismissed from his post. One package or bale of cloth out of a total consignment was always correctly invoiced at a value appreciably higher than the others. The description of all the cloths, however, was basically the same.

Bottomley invariably dealt with Campbell when he went to the customs to clear his shipments. Campbell always selected the highly invoiced bale for inspection and passed the other bales which were undervalued. There seems little doubt that the arrangement was to the mutual financial benefit of Bottomley and Campbell. William Bottomley did his best to defend the interests of his absent brother, but the Roscoe's goods were condemned. William had earlier taken possession on bond at their appraised value, and in honouring the bond in cash, paying duty on the true value and including court costs, the total cost of importing these bales was £10,265. If James's 'arrangement' had applied, only £1,780 would have been paid.^{1.}

1. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 282-83.

Spurred on by his success and by press claims that the revenue had been denied some \$1,000,000 in the previous three years by traders' evasions, Hoyt and his officers showed sustained vigilance, especially where Bottomley's goods were concerned. Another batch of goods was seized in May 1838, and yet another in the August, even though these bales remained unclaimed in the customs until Bottomley had obtained new, higher valued invoices. The first batch was condemned and sold for over \$7,000. For the second, Bottomley was obliged, in reclaiming the goods, to pay \$13,000 in appraised value and duties. As the difference between the appraised valuation and the corrected invoice valuation was about \$1,500, the claimant appealed against the verdict. The case was not completed until 1845, by which time William Bottomley had been dead for three years.^{1.}

Hoyt worked energetically, but not always successfully, to discover likely customs evasions by importers, especially those receiving Yorkshire textiles and those connected with Saddleworth. The Collector brought many cases through the district attorney, but he lost many more than he won because, he claimed, New York juries were rarely impartial, consisting mainly of importers. In 1839 and 1840, some twenty commissions gained evidence in Yorkshire -

1. William Bottomley died in New York, aged only 30, 25 Jan. 1842. (Leeds Mercury, 19 Feb. 1842; Wakefield & W.R. Herald, 25 Feb. 1842).

nearly always evidence which gave solace to the New York importer - and American consuls in Leeds and Liverpool also quietly investigated.^{1.}

Yorkshire press comments are interesting.

"Large quantities of English woollens, which were in bond in New York", it was reported, "have been brought back to this country. We understand there are various reasons for this. Some of the goods are believed to have been invoiced at prices so low, that they would have been seized if an attempt had been made to pass them through the custom-house". After this somewhat discomfiting introduction:"....a large part of the goods are intended to be re-finished in this country, and then sent out again to the United States, - the advantage of the operation being threefold..." The goods would be in a more saleable condition. The goods would be invoiced at current English prices, which were now lower than when the goods were first shipped, with correspondingly lower duties payable. Thirdly, "a reduction took place in [the] tariff on the 31st of December [1839] , and goods imported after that date will be admitted at a lower rate of duty than before..." In any case, the New York market was very quiet. No doubt the reasons given were perfectly valid, but the

1. H.Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 283-84.

events causing great furore in New York naturally received far less published emphasis in Yorkshire.^{1.}

New imports continued to be impounded, and even cloths, which had already passed through the customs and were now stored in warehouses, were seized. In New York, writs were issued by August 1839 for the arrest of twelve Saddleworth men, all on charges of owing considerable sums to the U.S. Customs in respect of evaded duty. Five men were arrested: Samuel Bradbury, Joseph Broadbent, ———Harris, John Platt and George Shaw. Another five left hurriedly for Canada, and located in Montreal: Henry Dixon, ———Duncan, William Platt, Samuel Shaw (and wife) and John Taylor. James Bottomley had already taken the same route in April 1839 before returning to England. William Broadbent was home in Saddleworth.^{2.}

1. Doncaster Gazette, 24 Jan. 1840 (from Leeds Mercury).
2. From the press announcements of his daughter's marriage to N.Y. merchant, Samuel Shaw, at Saddleworth, in January 1837 (Halifax Guardian, 28 Jan. 1837; Leeds Mercury, 4 Feb. 1837), it is not clear whether William Broadbent (a) attended the wedding, or was at the time still in America; or (b) went out or returned to America after the wedding, but returned to Saddleworth prior to the summer of 1839. To confuse the issue still further, William Broadbent, the N.Y. trader, may have been a son of William Broadbent, of Carr, Saddleworth, and therefore not the same person. At all events, when Samuel Shaw and his wife Betty fled to Canada, they left their children in New York, possibly with the family of the arrested Joseph Broadbent.

Whilst the five traders taken into custody were in a serious situation, Hoyt's task in producing the actual evidence of duty evasion was equally onerous. Whatever Hoyt believed to be the truth - indeed, probably was the truth - suspicions and proof were two different matters. Most of the goods which were the subject of possible duty evasion had long ago been formally cleared by the customs, had passed through one or more warehouses and had reached a multitude of customers. Even if Hoyt possessed incontrovertible evidence, over half the indicated traders were outside the country, and the others in custody did not have sufficient resources to meet the claims. Through mediators in the mercantile colony, Hoyt agreed to consider the matter out of court, considering offers of recompense to end the impasse. In this way, the U.S. government might recover something of the original claims totalling \$155,000, later reduced to \$86,000, though it is uncertain what proportion of this was ever paid.

The postscript to this unhappy interlude in Anglo-American trading was contained in the report of the Presidential commission appointed in 1841 to look into the operation of the New York Customs House.

In the report, neither the Saddleworth traders nor many of the collectors emerged with much credit. On the one hand, there is little doubt that many Saddleworth and probably other Yorkshire traders and manufacturers quoted false valuations of their goods, sometimes, often or always. On the other hand, many collectors and appraisers were not beyond reproach, and James Campbell was not a unique specimen. Even Hoyt himself soon found his post as advantageous as had his predecessor Swartwort. Prosecutions brought by the Customs resulted in financial benefit to legal officials, and successful convictions, in half the penalties paid being distributed among the officers. The natural antagonism felt by native American manufacturers towards the "damned Yorkshiremen" probably also influenced the attitude of customs collector and appraiser. In short, though individuals might be honest, fair-dealing and blameless of any malpractice, groups on both sides of the customs barrier were tainted.¹

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 284-85.

The boom year of 1836 preceded a period of prolonged depression for Yorkshire cloth traders in the United States. The average annual export of British "cloth of all kinds" to the United States fell from 217,000 pieces in the years 1831-35 to 186,000 in 1836-40, and to only 40,000 in 1841-45. The average annual export rose to 75,000 pieces in the following quinquennium and to about 184,000 in 1851-55. The trend is similar in the total value of woollen and worsted exports to the United States over the same period.¹ American woollen imports from Britain in 1836 were not equalled again in value until 1853. Although the American market for British wool textiles improved only slowly during the 1840s, it is noteworthy that the American demand for worsteds grew in importance during the 1840s and 1850s until worsted imports were of greater significance than woollen. By 1860, American cloth imports in wool textiles consisted almost entirely of worsteds and superior woollens.²

Although 1836 was a very prosperous trading year in general for English merchants in America, an omen of the depressed times to follow was perhaps to be found in their "great loss" caused by the destructive fire which

1. J. Potter, "Atlantic Economy...", pp.36-37, Table 11.

2. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 285-86.

swept New York at the beginning of that year, a conflagration in which "from 700 to 1,000 houses and warehouses, with the exchange and post office, were reduced to a mass of ruins".^{1.}

"At the present time", wrote one Yorkshireman in the summer of 1838, "trade and commerce are depressed considerably".^{2.} Two years later, another

Yorkshireman, a cloth trader on a business visit to New York and Toronto found little improvement.

James Booth arrived in New York towards the end of June 1840, and reported home to Mirfield that

"Trade is over for the Season; I never saw so little doing in New York, and less money stirring in proportion to that little; I attended several sales and always left them perfectly sickened at the sacrifices there made. I hope things will be better in the Fall, but it is only hope. I do not see prospects of its being realised". Booth's pessimism was well founded for, in August, he continued:

"As far as regard the Cloth Trade I can only say that the Fall trade has opened and opened most miserably & many Cloths are not bringing more than sterling cost in England, and Money if possible is still more scarce; I think Blue Pilots are doing the best of any article I have seen, and they, bad

1. John Mayhall, The Annals of Yorkshire, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time (Leeds, ca.1866), I, p.435 (entry for Jan. 1836).

2. Bradford Observer, 11 Oct. 1838: "Extract of a private letter from a Yorkshireman in the United States", New York, 6 Aug. 1838.

enough...two of my Bales are out of the C[ustom]
H[ouse]but to sell them just would be to sacrifice
them". Early impressions were correct for:
"The opening of the trade continues most miserable,
cloths are only fetching ruinous prices, and I
think not likely to be any better". While in
New York, James Booth stayed with James Dixon
and his wife "in most excellent Lodgings in the
House formerly occupied by John Wrigley". Their
group of acquaintances included A. Taylor,
James Dean, Harrison ("the Dyer"), and George and
Mrs. Blunt - all seemingly Yorkshire expatriates.
James Dixon was perhaps either a commission
merchant or an agent representing the American
interests of certain Yorkshire manufacturers,
for, as Booth informed his wife, "It will be Sep^t.
[1840]before Mr. Dixon can send Messrs. Moorhouses
and Jos^h. Haigh the money they want, but I think they
may rely on it then..." Moreover, apart from his
own trading, James Booth was also probably acting as
agent for a number of Yorkshire manufacturers.

"As soon as I am sufficiently well", he confided after a severe bout of dysentery, "I will start for Toronto...I promised Messrs. Wimpenny, Crossland, Haigh & Barber to go there or else I think I should not have gone".^{1.}

Despite the depressed trading conditions of the late 1830's and early 1840's, Yorkshire merchants and sons of home manufacturers contrived to seek commercial opportunities in the United States. Representation from the Leeds and Saddleworth areas appeared less frequently. Spasmodic press references in the 1840's and 1850's would suggest that other West Riding districts were bidding for a share in the American trade. The view is partly borne out by the contemporary

1. James Booth, No. 49 Cedar Street, New York, to wife at "Mr. Thos. Leadbeatters, Mirfield", 30 Jun., 7, 18 Aug. 1840. (Letters of Emigrants to America, LSE: M627). The second letter refers to the arrival in New York from England of Mrs. James Booth's "Friend Ed^d. Garsed", en route for the Wil(l)cock Family at Germantown, Philadelphia. William Wilcock, who had died at Roundhay, Wessahiccon Creek, Roxborough Township, near Philadelphia, 1 May 1835, was the son-in-law of Joshua Garsed, Esq., formerly of Roundhay, Leeds. (Leeds Mercury, 27 Jun. 1835). Joshua Garsed himself died near Philadelphia, 18 Apr. 1858, aged 90 (Ibid., 13 May 1858; Halifax Guardian, 15 May 1858).

rise of Bradford as a worsted merchanting centre,^{1.} and the gradually increasing importance of worsted cloth exports to the United States. Moreover, from the evidence available, it is not always clear whether the Yorkshire merchant or manufacturer's son or brother resident in America was an agent or importer of the cloth produced in England, or whether he had established himself as a merchant or manufacturer entirely in his own rights in his adopted country, sometimes well away from the Atlantic seaboard.

Edwin Firth (born 25 November 1799) was the son of Thomas (cloth finisher; died 26 May 1822), and grandson of Jeremiah Firth (merchant). Edwin established himself in Liverpool as a general merchant, but in 1822, on his father's death, he moved back to Heckmondwike to develop his late father's manufacturing business of woollen cloths; and when Flush Mills in Heckmondwike became vacant, he bought them to manufacture blankets,

1. As compiled from contemporary directories, the number of worsted merchants in Leeds, Bradford and Halifax were, respectively: in 1822-24, 5, 6; in 1830-42, 24, 12; in 1837-52, 25, 12; and in 1842-51, 54, 21. A strong element in the rapid overtaking of Leeds by Bradford as the main mercantile centre of the W.R. worsted industry was the immigration of many German merchants, e.g. Leo Schuster in 1830 and Jacob Behrens in 1838.

at the same time remaining a merchant.^{1.} Edwin extended his mercantile interests into the export trade, especially to the United States; and, probably in the 1830's, Thomas, his younger brother, was sent to New York. As a merchant there, Thomas met with great, though temporary, success. Finally, after suffering heavy losses, probably in the late 1830's, and possessing poor health, Thomas Firth returned to Heckmondwike.^{2.}

Ely Bates was established as a woollen cloth merchant and manufacturer by the late 1820s in West Hill (or Mill), Gibbet Lane, Halifax, where

1. In 1867, Clifton Mills at Brighouse were opened for the manufacture of carpets, and in the present century, T.F. Firth & Sons Ltd., of Brighouse and Heckmondwike, became, and remain, one of the most important British carpet manufacturers and exporters. Flush Mills (Heckmondwike) and Clifton Mills (Brighouse) each cover about thirty acres (Telegraph & Argus, Bradford, 18 Oct. 1968).
2. F. Peel, Spen Valley: Past and Present, pp.340-41.

he continued until the mid-1840's or later.^{1.}

During this period, he developed an important trade with America.^{2.} His only son, Joshua William Bates, of Philadelphia, also a merchant, was probably representing his father's interests at the time of his marriage in 1843.^{3.}

Samuel Cunliffe-Lister, born in 1815 at Calverley, near Leeds, and destined to become the great manufacturer-inventor-businessman, land owner and first Baron Masham of Swinton, served with a commercial firm in Liverpool and the United States, probably about 1840, before becoming his brother John's

1. Pigot, National Commercial Directory (1828-29), II, p.940; (1834), p.731; (1841), pp.81, 82; Pigot, Directory of Yorkshire (1842), p.84; Parson and White, Directory of ...Leeds...York and the Clothing District of Yorkshire, (1830), pp.265, 285; White, History, Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire... (1837), I, p.422; Robson, Commercial Directory (1840-41), II, p.96; White, Directory...of Leeds and ...the Clothing District ...of the West Riding (1842), I, p.410; White, Directory and Topography of the borough of Leeds (1843), I, p.410.
2. The Halifax Central Library's index of 'Local Worthies' includes a photograph of Ely Bates, bearing the legend "Ely Bates, American merchant, Gibbet Hill, Died 27th October 1861, aged 74".
3. Bradford Observer, 9 Nov. 1843. J.W. Bates was married, 12 Oct. 1843, to Isabella Catherine, second daughter of the late "El Ex'mo Sr. Don Juan Guill'mo Blquer, Caballero Gran Cruz de la Real Orden Americana de Ysabel la Católica, y de Carlos Tercero, y Gentil-hombre de Cámara con ejercicio de S.M. Trinidad de Cuba".

partner in Bradford.^{1.}

V.R. Westlake, at the time of his death in 1847, had been for "several years bookkeeper" to one of a number of Binns, contemporarily noted as cloth merchants in Leeds, and he may well have represented the same firm when "formerly of New York".^{2.}

William Knowles was noted in 1830 as a cotton spinner of Bent Mill, Wilsden, near Bradford, but he, or a son of the same name, was described as a "merchant", though not necessarily of cloth, when he died at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1848.^{3.}

Abraham Stensfield, merchant, of Ewood, near Todmorden, lost his life in 1838 on his passage from Savannah to New York, after the boiler exploded aboard the steamer, Pulaski.^{4.}

1. J.T. Ward, "'Old' and 'New' Bradfordians in the nineteenth century", B.T.S.J., 1964-65, 19-20.
2. Bradford Observer, 22 Apr. 1847 (obit., 9 Apr. 1847, aged 36).
3. Parson and White, Directory of ...Leeds...York and the Clothing District of Yorkshire (1830), p.525; Bradford Observer, 21 Sep. 1848 (obit., 24 Aug. 1848, aged 44).
4. Wakefield & W.R.Herald, 3 Aug. 1838; Hull Advertiser, 3 Aug. 1838; Yorkshire Gazette, 4 Aug. 1838 (obit., ca. 18 Jun. 1838). Stensfield apparently died of exposure after floating on wreckage for several days. He had been on his way home, "intending to leave New York by the Great Western".

George Crawshaw, a woollen merchant, late of Leeds, was in St. Louis, Missouri, when he died in 1849, aged 43.¹

By 1830, Thomas Sutcliffe was in business as a cotton spinner and manufacturer at Hebden Bridge Lanes, in Heptonstall township. His son Abraham, a merchant, died at Savannah, Georgia, in 1853.²

By the end of the 1840's, however, the activities of British immigrant importers of purely woollen cloths had probably declined both relatively and absolutely. Low and medium grades of woollens were produced increasingly by American manufacturers, some of Yorkshire extraction. The New York directory of 1850 lists some twelve firms which were 'Importers of Woollens';³ and of these, only six might be of Yorkshire

1. E.C.H., 1 Mar. 1849 (obit., 15 Jan. 1849).
2. Parson and White, Directory of...Leeds...York and the Clothing District of Yorkshire (1830), p.473; Bradford Observer, 16 Jun. 1853; Halifax Guardian, 18 Jun. 1853 (obit., 26 May 1853, aged 42).
3. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 286.

connection - Birchall,^{1.} Buckley,^{2.} Hodgson,^{3.} Hudson,^{4.} Ives^{5.} and Whitaker. High-grade woollen and most worsted cloths, on the other hand, continued to be imported into the United States.^{6.}

1. Edwin Birchall & Son, probably formerly of Leeds.
2. Perhaps a member or descendant of the Saddleworth family of Buckley.
3. There is an oblique reference to a John Hodgson (in Leeds Mercury, 22 Mar. 1856). Hodgson's wife, Hannah, who died in Brooklyn, N.Y., 4 Mar. 1856, aged 33, was the daughter of John Dixon, Esq., of Scholescroft, Batley.
4. A Joseph Hudson, New York merchant, the fourth son of William Hudson, of Adwalton, near Leeds, had married in New York in Nov. 1823. His only son, William Henry Hudson, died at Stratford, Conn., in May 1864 (Wakefield & Halifax Journal, 30 Jan. 1824; Leeds Mercury, 4 Jun. 1864).
5. Perhaps George R. Ives, who at the time of his marriage in New York in 1836, was "of the firm of Messrs. Labron and Ives", of Leeds (Leeds Mercury, 27 Feb. 1836). The Labron-Ives partnership had probably ended by about 1842, with Ives now permanently in New York, and John Labron, a woollen manufacturer, in Leeds (White, Directory and Topography of...Leeds, 1843, p.75). Ives, though no longer a partner, may still have received thereafter Labron's consignments among others.
6. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 286.

(d) AFTER 1850.

From the mid-century onwards, the American market continued to be of great importance for British cloth. In 1851, about 30 per cent of all British woollen and worsted exports went to the United States. In the two five-year periods, 1851-55 and 1856-60, the average annual export to the United States of 'Cloths of all kinds' was about 184,000 and 183,000 pieces, respectively, and of 'Stuffs, Woollen and Worsted', about 500,000 and 700,000. The value of woollen and worsted imports into the United States rose fluctuatingly during the 1850s, from £11,000,000 in 1850 to £26,000,000 in 1860, when worsteds alone accounted for £10,000,000. From the 1840s onwards, worsteds formed an increasing proportion of American cloth imports, eventually overshadowing even high quality woollens. By 1890, whilst some 25 per cent of British exports of fabrics still went to the United States, these exports consisted overwhelmingly of worsteds.^{1.}

1. J. Potter, "Atlantic Economy...", pp.36,39; H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 226, 286; "Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade", 147.

The increasing importation of worsted cloths into the United States was paralleled, not surprisingly, by the greater involvement of large manufacturers based essentially in the worsted-producing districts of the West Riding. The American trade in worsted piece goods was effected in a number of ways. The Yorkshire manufacturer could consign goods to be sold on his behalf by an American importer acting as his agent. Equally, the Yorkshire manufacturer could sell his goods, undyed and unfinished ('in the grey') to a firm of Bradford merchants who then took over the risks of disposal. The American agent or Bradford merchant might then sell the goods by auction in America. Both methods had their advantages and drawbacks. Firms with the strongest capital resources might find the consignment of piece goods to an American agent the more attractive method. The manufacturer in this case, however, had to ensure that the goods were totally ready for sale - dyed and finished by himself or on commission - and he had to bear the market risk until the sale was completed. A greater period of time also elapsed before the manufacturer received the returns on his outlay. Conversely, the manufacturer who sold his goods to a Bradford merchant transferred to the merchant not only the attendant risks of disposal in the American

market but also the opportunity of making the profit gained by the merchant. For the Yorkshire manufacturer who sold through an American agent, though the risks were greater, the profits were likely to be far more rewarding: lower American import duties were levied on goods invoiced at the cost of production; the American agent - and domestic merchant - found the credit on import duties extended by the U.S. government to their advantage; and, nefariously, selling through American agents could permit fraudulent entry of values at the Customs.^{1.}

In the American trading activities of the Yorkshire firms of John Foster & Son Ltd., Frederick Schwann & Co. (and Schwann, Kell & Co.) and the Butterfield brothers, are to be found permutations of all these mercantile methods, as well as at times a trading relationship with one another.

1. Eric M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills: A History (Liverpool U.P., 1958), pp.328-29; A.H. Cole, The American Wool Manufacture, I, p.158.

The firm of Butterfields, of Keighley and Bradford, deserves wider treatment than is possible in this investigation.^{1.} A study of the firm as worsted spinners, manufacturers and merchants is important because its business evolution spans the whole of the nineteenth century, and continues in name to the present day.^{2.} More specifically, for a considerable period in the nineteenth century, several members of the Butterfield family visited and lived temporarily, or in one case resided permanently, in the United States, in order to further the interests of the home-based firm, their own individual interests, and the interests of several other West Yorkshire manufacturers.

1. The business records of the Butterfield family unfortunately appear to have been destroyed. (Sir) Frederick Butterfield, My West Riding Experiences (1927), Chap.1, refers to his family, but makes few references to the firm (N.V. Tilley, Principal Librarian, Information Services, Bradford Central Library, to J.T.Dixon, 19 Nov. 1974; Anne Ward, Principal Keeper, Cliffe Castle Art Gallery and Museum, Keighley, to J.T. Dixon, 1 Aug. 1977). Much 'business' information, however, may be gleaned from the personal correspondence of the Butterfield family in Cliffe Castle MSS and from other firms' correspondence.
2. As recently as 1974, John Butterfield (Wools) Ltd., Fieldhead Mills, Preston Street, Bradford, was operating as 'Wool merchants and top makers' (Bradford Wool Exchange Directory, 1974, pp.33,63,97).

The foundation of the Butterfield firm was laid by John Butterfield, woolstapler, son of Isaac Butterfield who died in the early 1820's. John Butterfield stored wool which he had ordered from farmers on his regular visits to the East Riding and Lincolnshire, in his warehouse at Mill Hill, Keighley. Despite John Butterfield's death at a comparatively early age about 1817, pre-deceasing his father, and the fact that he had been in business only a relatively short time, his estate totalled some £30,000, the bulk of which passed to his brother Isaac (1785-1832). Isaac Butterfield, already a maker of stuff pieces, added to this his late brother's business of woolstapling, basing his business in Chapel Lane, Keighley.¹ Isaac's yarns, however, were spun at a small mill, first rented and later purchased, at Hey's Gardens,

1. Baines, History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York... (1822), I, p.220, notes Isaac Butterfield, "worsted spinner & manufacturer, Chapel Lane, Keighley". Pigot, National Commercial Directory (1828-29), II, p.990, refers to Isaac as a "worsted spinner & stuff manufacturer, Hope St., Keighley"; and Parson and White, Directory of...LeedsYork and the Clothing District of Yorkshire (1830), p.333, lists Isaac Butterfield & Son, again at No. 1 Chapel Lane, Keighley.

Halifax Road, where a considerable number of spinners and weavers were employed. By Isaac's marriage to Sarah Shackleton (ca.1784-1853),^{1.} at least six sons and one daughter were born: Isaac (died in infancy), Richard Shackleton (1806-69), John (1810-65), William (d. 1874), Sarah Hannah (1814?-1871), Henry Isaac (1819-1910) and Frederick (1820-83).^{2.}

By about the mid-1820's, certainly by 1829, Isaac Butterfield was ably assisted in the wool manufacturing business by his eldest son, Richard Shackleton Butterfield. The three brothers, Richard S., John and William, were taken into the father's business about 1830, when the stapling side of the business was given up. Shortly afterwards, Isaac Butterfield's health failed rapidly, and the whole weight of management fell on the sons, who soon entered the new lucrative merino trade. After the father's death in 1832, the firm took the name of Butterfield Brothers, and the last two sons, Henry Isaac and Frederick, were taken into the firm as they attained manhood. In 1833, the building of the extensive Prospect Mill, Halifax Road, Keighley, was begun, and

1. Sarah (née Shackleton) Butterfield died 2 Feb. 1853 "at Cliffe House, near Keighley", aged 70 (Halifax Guardian, 5 Feb. 1853).
2. Cliffe Castle MSS: Butterfield genealogical table.

upon its completion, the brothers successfully introduced weaving by power looms.^{1.}

The exact date of the Butterfields' incursion into the American trade is uncertain. "A few years after the building of Prospect Mill", it is noted, "chiefly through the energy and enterprise of the senior partner of the firm...Richard S. Butterfield, they established themselves as foreign merchants, doing business principally in the United States of America".^{2.} On the perhaps inexact evidence of contemporary directories, the Butterfield Brothers are noted solely as "worsted spinners & manufacturers" in 1837 and 1842; and their first listing as "worsted spinners, stuff manufacturers & merchants" does not occur until 1845.^{3.} From this admittedly flimsy evidence, it appears that the Butterfields' role as American

1. J. Hodgson, Textile manufacture, and other industries, in Keighley (1879), pp.102-04. White, History, Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire ... (1837), I, p.689, and White, Directory...of Leeds and...the Clothing District...of the West Riding (1842), I, p.512, list "Butterfield Bros., worsted spinners & manufacturers, Prospect Mills, Keighley".
2. J. Hodgson, Textile manufacture...in Keighley, p.104.
3. Ibbetson, Directory of Bradford... (1845), pp.14,120,130.

merchants began almost as soon as they became domestic merchants. Again, it is reasonable conjecture that Richard S. Butterfield's interest in the American trade was roused by a conversation with a William Lund who had exported a quantity of goods to the United States. It is certain that shortly afterwards, Richard S. sailed for America and "succeeded in opening an export trade with that continent".^{1.}

By 1845, the Butterfields, though manufacturing at Keighley, had acquired offices at Rawson's Buildings, Old Market Place, Bradford, and by 1847, at No. 1 Norfolk Street."^{2.} Also about 1847, they purchased considerable property in the neighbourhood of Haworth - the mills at Bridghouse and mansion at

1. J. Hodgson, p.104. Richard S. Butterfield's first voyage, from the evidence available, would seem to have been during the years, ca. 1841 - ca.1844. Certainly by 1847, a would-be New York agent of Fosters of Queensbury was able to praise the Butterfield Brothers as one of those firms "that...have done so well [in the American trade] " (A. Spiers Brown to W.Foster, 2 letters, 11 May 1847: cited by E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills...pp.329-30).
2. Ibbetson, Directory of Bradford...(1845), pp.14,120,130; White, Directory of...Leeds...York and the Clothing District of Yorkshire (1847), pp.301,340,418.

Woodlands - and a mill at Lumb Foot, Keighley.^{1.}

Both the Keighley and Haworth mills were greatly enlarged and business extended, and "the class of goods they made were such as were required for the American markets, and, as the two younger partners [Henry Isaac and Frederick Butterfield] were for a considerable time permanently resident in the States, and the senior partner [Richard S.] at least half his time in that country, doubtless, the changes and variations in the markets would be narrowly watched".^{2.} Certainly the reason why the Butterfield Brothers (and others) had "done so well", according to

1. J. Hodgson, p.105. In Collinson, West Riding, Leicestershire and Norwich Directory... (1852), pp.210, 283, 288, the Butterfield Bros. are listed as "spinners, manufacturers & merchants: Norfolk Street [Bradford], works Longfoot [sic.] , Bridghouse and Keighley Mills". From 1853 to at least 1875, the merchanting end of the business was carried on from offices at No. 7-9 Piccadilly, Bradford: White, Directory of...Leeds...York and the Clothing District of Yorkshire (1853), pp.477, 489, 518, 545; Lund Bradford Directory... (1856), pp.50, 138, 288, 299; White, Directory of Bradford... (1861), pp.483, 614, 625, 652, 674, 676, 706; White, Clothing District Directory.... pp.615, 659, 798.
2. J. Hodgson, p.105.

Spiers Brown in 1847, was that they had followed the essential practice of "getting up goods to suit the [American] markets", and had "them sent in bulk through orders direct and some goods occasionally to supply those of the trade in immediate want".^{1.}

From the mid-1840's to the mid-1850's, the picture of the Butterfields' activities in the United States is not detailed. Richard S. Butterfield, having made the American connection, appears to have spent a fair proportion of his time resident there supervising the import of the firm's worsted manufactures. Henry Isaac and Fred(erick) Butterfield followed him to stay in New York on a permanent basis, and in time the latter's name was taken to describe the New York branch as 'Fred Butterfield and Co.' John Butterfield also put in an occasional appearance there, and the manufacturing base in Keighley was developed by William and, when at home, Richard S. Butterfield. The merchanting side in

1. A. Spiers Brown to W. Foster, 2 letters, 11 May 1847; cited by E. M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills...., pp. 329-30.

Bradford was probably covered by Richard S. and John Butterfield, who "also bought largely in the Bradford market from other manufacturers, which goods they exported along with their own manufacture".^{1.} Between at least 1853 and 1880, Fred Butterfield & Co. in New York also represented Fosters of Queensbury in the American trade.^{2.}

Of the success of the Butterfields' manufacturing operations in Keighley and district, and their trading business and investments in the United States, there can be no doubt. "During the long period of nearly 40 years", a local historian eulogised in the late 1870s, "they were never under the necessity of curtailing their business[in Keighley] by running short time, in consequence of the slackness of trade; and the regular employment afforded by this firm was duly appreciated by a many of their workpeople, who, whilst in their employment greatly improved in circumstances, and for the most part those who were fortunate enough to get into their service were very loath to leave".^{3.}

1. J. Hodgson, p.105.

2. E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills...., p.332. Correspondence between the two firms exists for the period Nov. 1855-1880.

3. J. Hodgson, p.105.

In New York, Henry Isaac and Fred Butterfield added to their increasing prosperity, based on sound trading, investments and land speculations, by contracting financially advantageous marriages. In October 1854, Henry Isaac married the young Mary Roosevelt Burke (1838-67), of New York, the niece of the Hon. Judge Roosevelt¹ and in January 1858, Fred Butterfield married Caroline ("Carrie") Matilda, only daughter of John Falconer, a New York businessman.²

By 1855 or 1856, Henry Isaac decided to relinquish his active trading interests - but not his investments - in the New York business, and retired, aged only about 37, with his wife Mary to Paris.³

1. Bradford Observer, 2 Nov. 1854; Leeds Mercury, 4 Nov. 1854; Cliffe Castle MSS: Butterfield genealogical table. Date of marriage, 11 Oct. 1854.
2. Leeds Mercury, 23 Jan. 1858. Date of marriage, 5 Jan. 1858. Richard S. Butterfield married Jane Wright (1828-50), probably in Yorkshire; and their daughter Jane ("Jennie") Wright Butterfield (1850-78) married the Vicomte de Montauban. John and William Butterfield apparently remained bachelors, though the latter had an illegitimate daughter (Cliffe Castle MSS: Butterfield genealogical table).
3. Henry I. and Mary Butterfield were certainly living in Paris by 1857. The earliest noted evidence is contained in receipted bills (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. F) and in correspondence directed to the Butterfields in Paris in 1857 (Box 3, Pkt. J). One tailor's bill is dated 24 Jun. 1857; and another, for Mrs. Butterfield's lingerie, is dated 6 Nov. 1857. Correspondence consists of: John Butterfield, Bradford and N.Y., to H.I.B., Paris, 11 Apr., 30 Nov. 1857; Carrie M. Falconer, N.Y., to Mrs. Butterfield, Paris, 9 Sep. 1857 (Box 1, Pkt. G, 3); Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I.B. Paris, 6, 11 Oct. 1857; Wm. Butterfield, Keighley, to H.I.B., Paris, 22 Oct. 1857.

The reasons for the move are not entirely clear, though in character he appears to have been very different from his brothers. Like the others, however, he had the ability to make money, and he went to Paris, probably not because of any disagreement, but simply because he expected life there to be more congenial than in New York. He and his wife were obviously not disappointed. His manner of life in Europe and his correspondence with other members of the family indicate that Henry Isaac was a man of considerable means.

Henry Isaac Butterfield's substantial income was derived from his holdings in Fred Butterfield and Co., New York, his loans and his investments. Although it is not always clear from which American source a particular credit to Henry I. originated, Fred made regular financial transferences to his brother in Paris. Moreover, Fred Butterfield and Andrew Boardman, a New York lawyer, continued to act as Henry Isaac's investment advisers and trade correspondents for many years after the latter's departure for Europe.^{1.}

1. The firm of Andrew Boardman (and later, "Boardman & Boardman, Attorneys and Counsellors at Law") of New York, represented the Butterfields throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. The firm was located at No. 128 Broadway (in at least 1859 and 1861), at Nos. 320 and 322 (in at least 1877 and 1879), and at Nos. 155 and 157 (between at least 1884 and 1900).

In 1857, a year of deep economic distress in the United States, Fred Butterfield was still able to instruct "B. Bros.[Butterfield Brothers] to honor your [H.I.'s]drafts for £1,500 at any time you may require it after you receive this...to December 31st next..."¹. A few days later, Fred informed Henry Isaac:

"...In the midst of the terrible crisis raging around in this country, which has already prostrated a great portion of the Mercantile Community and threatens to engulf the whole community left at present standing, it has struck me that you will naturally be anxious to know in what shape I have your funds & if I am likely to lose by any investment I have made, that it is my duty under the circumstances to post you up so that you may know exactly how matters stand. Fortunately, very fortunately, when the crisis commenced I had loaned out to different parties & which was to be considered 'Confidential under all circumstances' the following amount of Money & which I conceive fully secures your money in my hands without reference to any other property

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 6 Oct. 1857 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt. J).

that I may leave in B. Bros. business,
or outside of it, viz. the sum of
'One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars',
& that although some if not all of the
parties holding it may fail, I am
satisfied the amounts are safe to be paid
& so that I do not feel the least uneasiness
about it, but I am thankful it happened
to be so invested, for had it not been so
the probability is it would have been
invested in paper upon which I should lose
heavily. I cannot begin to give you
any correct idea of the fearful times
we are passing through, although, when
those who passed through 1837 say that
there is no comparison & that 1857
far surpasses in intensity that memorable
year, you can perhaps form some kind of
estimate..."¹.

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield,
Paris, 11 Oct. 1857 (Cliffe Castle MSS,
Box. 3, Pkt.J).

In February, 1858, however, one New York firm which had been a victim of this "terrible crisis" wrote to Henry Isaac that "We were not a little disappointed some few days since upon calling at your Brother's [Fred's] store to learn from him that he had no discretion from you in reference to the settlement of the note you hold against us for 3,370 Dollars"; and hoped that it would not be "your desire to stand in the way of our effecting a settlement of our business".^{1.}

1. Douglas Wheelock (or Whulock) and Co., N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 1 Feb. 1858 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt.A,4). The firm had suspended business, 12 Oct. 1857, owing a confidential debt of over \$400,000 and a business debt of over \$600,000. The firm had first hoped to pay 60c. on the dollar, but a committee established to look into their affairs had recommended a payment of not more than 50c. on the dollar.

Fred Butterfield also encountered difficulties during this period. Then, and later, Henry Isaac was usually prepared to make substantial loans to his brother - at a price. Brothers they may have been, but Henry Isaac's philanthropism always contained a high degree of self-interest. By one agreement covering the period January 1858 to December 1860, Henry I. granted a loan of \$120,000 to Fred, and in return the latter agreed to pay interest of \$5,000 every June and \$5,000 every December until the loan was returned. The agreement further allowed for interest to be paid at any time: if Henry I. required it before its due time, he would allow interest of 7 per cent p.a. up to the time it was due; and if after, Fred would pay interest at the same rate until it was recalled by his brother. Fred was required to guarantee "that the Loan, as well as accumulated interest...be held strictly confidential by him, under all and any contingency that may occur". Other strict terms were demanded. At the expiry of the agreement, the loan (or any portion outstanding) and any accumulated interest were to be returned to Henry I. in cash; and any guaranteed securities held to cover the loan, if necessary, reduced to cash, deducting interest at the same 7 per cent p.a. Moreover, Fred agreed "that Henry I. Butterfield, or his agent, Mr. [Andrew] Boardman, on giving three months' notice can call in at any time they may require it in one or more sums the aggregate amount of twenty

thousand dollars, on the understanding that when such sum or sums are paid, they carry interest after same rate as that paid by Fred Butterfield on the original loan".^{1.}

It must be assumed that Henry I. was satisfied in his investment by way of a \$120,000 loan to his brother, and that Fred was able to fulfil the terms of the agreement, for there is later evidence that further financial agreements were made. In early 1867, Fred forwarded to Henry I. "my annual a/c...showing...due to you Dec.31/66 in gold the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars, which is at your disposition, but which I again strongly urge you to loan out as I

1. "Memorandum of an agreement entered into between Fred Butterfield of the City of New York, and Henry I. Butterfield now residing in Paris, said agreement to take effect on the first day of January 1858 and terminate on the 31st December 1860...signed, 1 February 1858, by Fred Butterfield" (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 2).

have before stated, believing that it is [in] your interest to do so in the present prospective unsettled state of this Country [U.S.] financially".

One year later, Fred wrote: "Enclosed, I send you two Bills of Exchange for \$60,000 - one for \$10,000 and another for \$50,000, which will no doubt be satisfactory to you. I will make out your a/c as soon as practicable and send it to you along with any balance that may be due..."¹ Whilst these 'accounts' and payments may not necessarily refer to credits due to Henry Isaac resulting from Fred's possible borrowings, there is no doubt that the latter received a substantial loan from his brother in the 1870's. In June 1876, Fred bound "himself or his heirs to pay to [Henry I.] on the 1st Day of January 1880 at latest, the sum of \$286,021.48..."²

By early 1878, however, Fred was beginning to find difficulty in meeting the repayments in cash; and a degree of acrimony was creeping into the brothers' correspondence. "In a former letter", wrote Fred in February, "you asked me when I intended to give up business - in reply, when I have paid what I owe you and can retire with sufficient to satisfy my moderate ambition, but while you are enjoying your

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 4 Jan. 1867, 7 Jan. 1868 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt.A, 4).
2. "Draft agreement altering terms of loan from Henry I. Butterfield, Paris, to Fred Butterfield, N.Y., 3 Feb. 1879" (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt.A, 6).

dignity and ease I have to work hard and plan hard here to make business even moderately profitable...."¹. At the end of 1878, Fred was able to pay the "Account due you this day for interest" (\$10,010.75), "Less paid to Mrs. Van Winkle, Aug. 23 [1878]" (\$50.00). The remainder of \$9,960.75, "I have today paid to Messrs. I. & W. Seligman & Co., with instructions to place an equivalent amount in francs to your credit with their House in Paris...."². Shortly afterwards, with trade at a low ebb and the repayment of Henry I's loan due to take place only one year ahead, Fred wrote to Paris requesting a revision of the agreement: "I now want to say something to you on a business matter which is one of great importance to me in my judgement. On the first of next January [1880] according to contract, I have to pay you the sum of Two Hundred and Eighty-six thousand odd dollars, and the contract I want to change if it be agreeable to you and in lieu of same, I want you to sign the enclosed contract for the following reasons which I know and which I think you will agree are good ones when you ponder over them..." Fred would, to meet the existing contract promptly, have had to dispose of his securities, and this he did not want to do as they were sure to improve within two or three years. "Don't misunderstand me", he explained,

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 9 Feb. 1878 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A,5).
2. Ibid., 31 Dec. 1878.

" — I can pay you next January [1880] if you insist upon it, but it will only be at a terrible sacrifice to me which I naturally want to avoid..."¹. The subsequent "Draft agreement altering the terms of loan from Henry I. Butterfield, Paris, to Fred Butterfield, N.Y., 3 Feb. 1879", by its very date and content, appears to have been drafted by Fred rather than his brother. Instead of paying \$286,021.48 on 1st January 1880, the draft document suggested that on that date, Fred would "be at liberty" to repay the sum of \$36,021.48 only, and the outstanding \$250,000 would be paid in five equal instalments of \$50,000 on each 1st January, 1881 to 1885. Securities to the amount of the indebtedness would remain in Andrew Boardman's hands, and interest would be charged at 7 per cent p.a. Interest on outstanding amounts would be paid twice a year. Fred could also anticipate any payments in sums of not less than \$3,000.²

Whether Henry Isaac ultimately accepted the new agreement is not clear, but certainly he demurred at first. In April, 1879, Fred wrote to his brother: "My only object in addressing you now is to call your attention to the following remarks in your [H.I.'s] letter just received and about which I wish to make a few remarks, viz. 'Shall advise you bye & bye on business, in the

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 31 Jan. 1879 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 5).

2. Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 6.

meantime it will be a serious derangement & loss also to me if you [Fred] do not pay me as agreed upon & at the time'. Now I want you [H.I.] distinctly to understand that I don't want you and don't intend you to be disarranged one iota or lose one cent & I don't wish you to do as I wished if you consider it any favour done to me, or any sacrifice to yourself to the smallest extent. I presumed that you had no special requirement for the sums at the particular date agreed upon, but that when you had it...you would invest in something that would not pay you anything like what you are now receiving in interest from me..." Fred then reiterated the extent of his securities and how they were rising in value.^{1.}

Twenty years earlier, in 1859, Fred Butterfield has suggested to Henry Isaac, in a "Strictly private and confidential letter", an investment arrangement of advantage to both of them, concerning a loan to "Mr. Falconer".^{2.} Fred sounded the proposition

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 9 Apr. 1879 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 6).
2. "Mr. Falconer" was almost certainly Fred's father-in-law (John Falconer) or brother-in-law. Fred had married Carrie M. Falconer in Jan. 1858 (Leeds Mercury, 23 Jan. 1858). Mr. and Mrs. Falconer were still alive in March 1879 (Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 17 Mar. 1879: Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 5).

with Henry I. that Mr. Falconer should receive a loan of \$25,000: "...if you make the loan at 10% [p.a. interest] for 5 Years from 1st January next [1860] and allow me 3% out of it, this making the loan virtually at 7%, I will guarantee you the interest... Mr. Falconer has not the slightest idea that I am suggesting this loan to you, but I think he would take it as I am satisfied he could use it in his business...." The following month, Fred reported that he had "had a long talk with Falconer about loaning him \$25,000 on the 1st January [1860] for 3 or 5 years & I have decided to do so on the following conditions. Int.10% per annum payable..., to be made confidential under all & every circumstance & in addition he is to give me stock in a Manufacturing Co. to the amount of par value \$40,000 as collateral security. I shall do it in your name [H.I's] so that if you think proper you can take it on your own a/c and if you do not it would be better in that shape for me than in my own name should anything occur before the loan matured...Should you think it worth while to take it, you can say whether you would like it for three or five years, and it shall be made accordingly...."1.

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 29 Nov., 17 Dec. 1859. (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt.A,3).

Apart from Henry I. Butterfield's investments in the form of loans, he also invested in the United States on the advice of his brother Fred and his lawyer, Andrew Boardman, in New York. In 1859, Fred wrote to his brother: "...as I have before informed, I must...decline to take any responsibility in investing any property or moneys obtained for sale of Mary's¹ property in any shape or in any manner, but I of course will be happy to invest it in any special manner she may instruct me, after being satisfied from other sources than through me that such security is safe and desirable..."²

The distinction between investment and investment-advice, however, was a fine one. Only two months after the previous letter, Fred reported a conversation he had had with Andrew Boardman "on the properness of you and Mary investing some money out West at 10% per annum, but he [A.B.] discouraged the idea strongly, notwithstanding which, however, were I you, and had my own property secured

1. Mrs. Mary R. Butterfield, Henry Isaac's wife.
2. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 15 Dec. 1859 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 3).

without a question and interest secured semi-annually, I should recommend Mary to invest the funds West...the only risk that might be run would possibly be the interest occasionally not being paid promptly..."¹.

In 1877, it is evident that Henry Isaac also had an interest in ten thousand acres of land bought by the Butterfield brothers in McKean County, Pennsylvania. As successful oil wells had been sunk at a number of points about ten or twelve miles from the margins of the Butterfield lands, "one party", wrote Andrew Boardman, "wishes to make an arrangement for the lease of one thousand acres of the lands with the condition that he shall be at the expense of sinking one or more wells of from 1500 to 2000 feet deep in order to determine whether petroleum can be drawn from the Butterfield lands in paying quantities". If successful, the lessee would have the right to work the wells, paying a royalty on production. Boardman advised acceptance of this suggestion as long as the period of lease was restricted and Henry Isaac and his brothers were involved in no expenses related to exploration

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 19 Feb. 1860 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 3).

and exploitation.^{1.}

Mary Butterfield was also a lady of private means. In 1859, Henry Isaac's wife and her sister, Mrs. Kinney, shared in a substantial bequest of property (and cash) in New York.^{2.} Mrs. Butterfield's property share (99 East 19th Street, 237 Center Street, 7 Sixth Street, 8 Rutgers Street and East Broadway, and 401 West Street, New York) was valued at \$38,500, and she also received some \$3,500 in cash.^{3.} From then until about the end of 1866, Henry Isaac's wife continued to receive rents on her New York property. In February, May and June 1861, for example, Andrew Boardman paid Fred Butterfield a total of \$2,350 rent to be forwarded to Paris. "The times are

1. Andrew Boardman, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 17 Dec. 1877 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. A, 9). McKean County became the largest producer of Pennsylvania lubricating oils.
2. It is interesting to note that the choice of individual houses making up the total property was decided by lottery out of court - Fred Butterfield choosing for H.I.'s wife and Mr. Kinney for his wife - but in effect the two sisters received equal shares in value.
3. Andrew Boardman, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 5 Mar. 1859 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. A, 10).

very hard and rent with difficulty collected", observed the Butterfields' attorney-friend, "still your rents have come in quite as well as could under the circumstances be expected".¹ In late 1866, however, Mrs. Butterfield decided to sell her property. She wrote: "I am advised by my cousin, Mr. Jos. A. Roosevelt (who arrived here [in Paris] with his family two weeks ago) that the Canal Street property was sold last month for several thousand dollars, more than estimated; in consequence of which, and the advice of Mr. Fred Butterfield[in New York], I have resolved to seize the present time for disposing of the whole of my real estate in your city, and I hereby authorise you... to take the necessary measures as promptly as possible

1. Andrew Boardman, N.Y., to Mrs. Mary R. Butterfield, Paris, 2 Aug. 1861 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. A, 10).

for my interests to put the same before the market on such terms..."¹. It seems unlikely that the whole of Mrs. Butterfield's real estate was sold before her early death in 1867: even in 1879, Henry Isaac, as executor of his late wife's estate, was required to sign papers relating to a mortgage of \$6,600, about to be cleared by "a party" in New York.²

Once Henry I. and Mary R. Butterfield established themselves in Paris by about 1857, there is no apparent evidence that either ever returned to the United States. The couple had married in New York in October 1854, Mary aged only about sixteen, and their first child, Eugenie Dora, died an infant.³ In March 1859, Andrew Boardman

1. Mary R. Butterfield, Paris, to Andrew Boardman, N.Y., 27 Dec. 1866 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. G, 2).
2. Boardman & Boardman, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 9 Jul. 1879 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. A, 9).
3. Bradford Observer, 2 Nov. 1854; Leeds Mercury, 4 Nov. 1854; Cliffe Castle MSS, Butterfield genealogical table.

wrote to the Butterfields that he heard of them "occasionally as among the first and happiest of the gay metropolises of continental Europe. I trust your welfare and happiness may continue and that you will not allow the estate of Mrs. Roosevelt to pass away for want of heirs".¹ This wry warning had, however, already been heeded for in 1858 a son, Frederick William Louis d'Hilliers Roosevelt Theodore Butterfield (usually shortened to F.W.L. Butterfield, or "Louis") was born.² Sadly, Henry Isaac's marriage was comparatively short. In late 1866, Mary informed Andrew Boardman: "My health continues very delicate, and I may have to go south

1. Andrew Boardman, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 5 Mar. 1859 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. A, 10). Andrew Boardman died in 1881 (Box 2, Pkt. A, 6).
2. F.W.L. Butterfield lived until 1943, having married twice, first to Jessie Ridgway (1859-1927), then to Mrs. William Walters (d.1957). F.W.L.'s daughter by his first marriage, Marie Louise (b.1889), became the wife of Captain Gervaise Pierrepont, 6th Earl Manvers (d.1955), and lives at Thoresby Hall (Cliffe Castle MSS, Butterfield genealogical table).

shortly..."^{1.} She died the following year aged only 29, and was buried at Nice.^{2.} Henry Isaac never remarried, though he seems to have considered the idea in 1872. "You allude to your possible marriage", commented Fred, "in a way that looks as if you were quite - - on the point, well it is a serious matter for you at your age to go into & wants to be considered well before you decide."^{3.}

Both before and after his wife's death, Henry Isaac, though mainly resident in Paris, employed part of his wealth in European travel. In 1859 he was in Turin, in 1871, during the Franco-Prussian War, in Malta, and at times in 1872-74 in Rome.^{4.} At Nice, the Villa Marina was bought, and the house furnished lavishly and gardens planted extravagantly. "The garden begins to look well as I have planted twenty palm trees, twelve magnolias, 400 rose trees, 500 apple, pear,

1. Mary R. Butterfield, Paris, to Andrew Boardman, N.Y., 27 Dec. 1866 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt.G, 2).

2. Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. G.

3. Fred Butterfield, Bradford, to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 5 Dec. 1872 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt.A, 5). At the time, Henry Isaac was aged about 53.

4. Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 3; Box 1, Pkt. A, 1; Box 3, Pkt. E.

apricot, cherry and peach trees; and there are already olives, almonds, pomegranates, figs and grapes, and I am looking now after strawberry plants, so" - Henry I. added somewhat unnecessarily - "we shall have a little of every fruit and a good variety of flowers".^{1.}

The chief monument to Henry Isaac's wealth, however, lay in a chillier clime. The Butterfield family residence at Cliff Hall, Keighley, had been purchased about the late 1840s.^{2.} The mansion was rebuilt and given "the name of Cliff Castle, which, when completed", a local historian noted in 1879, "will form one of the most beautiful residences in the neighbourhood."^{3.} Little expense was spared: "for really the money spent for one thing and another on Cliffe [Castle] is frightful", and "Cliffe is looking very well, but vegetation is very backward here compared with Paris, yet it will be very pretty when completed and a handsome residence", wrote Henry I. to his son in 1877-79.^{4.} The "frightful" expense was incurred

1. H.I. Butterfield, Nice, to F.W.L. Butterfield, 29 Jan. 1874 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt.E). A plumber's bill for work at the Villa Marina, 1882, occurs in Box 1, Pkt. A, 6.

2. The death of Sarah Butterfield, mother of Henry Isaac, occurred at "Cliffe House, near Keighley", in Feb. 1853 (Halifax Guardian, 5 Feb. 1853).

3. J. Hodgson, p.105.

4. Cliffe Castle MSS. Box 3, Pkt. D.

in laying out drives, building lodges and gateways, and purchasing French carpets and rugs, marble and onyx chimney pieces, objets d'art and Italian paintings during the period 1875-80.¹

Henry Isaac Butterfield died in 1910, at the advanced age of 91.² His son Louis, however, had embarked for the United States some thirty years earlier, where, after his uncle Fred's death in 1883, he took over the textile importing business.

Fred Butterfield in New York never appears to have had the same Midas touch as that possessed by Henry Isaac Butterfield. Fred's financial position in New York naturally rested far more heavily on the state of the American market and the importing business, whereas Henry Isaac's in Paris was influenced only at second hand by the vagaries of trade. Yet, in absolute terms, Fred was highly successful in his scale of operations - both as a member of Butterfield Brothers and later as head of Fred Butterfield & Co. - and in his ability to ride economic storms, especially that of 1857-58.³

1. Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. D, 1, 2; Box 3 (Loose), 3; Pkt. H.
2. Cliffe Castle MSS, Butterfield genealogical table.
3. The date of the change in name of the Butterfields' New York branch is uncertain, but probably occurred, unofficially at least, by 1859-60.

Like his brother, Henry I., Fred employed his foresight and profits to invest heavily in the New York stock market. Firms such as Fosters of Queensbury also benefited from his expertise in investment speculations.^{1.}

The most testing period for Fred's business activities occurred with the economic crisis of 1857-58 and depressed trade for some years thereafter. In early 1857, John Butterfield, the second eldest of the brothers, visited New York from his trading base in Bradford, and wrote to Fosters: "...this market is exceedingly lifeless...the little demand there is at present for real alpaca is met by parties who are willing to accept and to take much lower prices than Salesmen are authorised to take for yours... I took upon myself to authorise a reduction of 4c. a yard and even not to miss a sale of any importance where an additional 1c. per yard would secure it... You will perceive however from the sales that have been advised, but little headway has been made, which may be attributable partially to the great languor in demand, but principally that numerous parties are clearing out their stock both by publick and private sale

1. E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills..., pp.335-338.

at the best prices they can obtain...Yesterday Richard Haigh & Co. who are large importers of real alpaca and alpaca coatings, as well as Orlean Drap d'Ete for men's clothing, offered their entire spring stock by public Auction. I was there and saw real alpacas equal to your 1s.3d. cost goods sold at 31c...Black Orleans were sold at 10c. and 13c. and in that ratio. This day, Fanshaw Milliken & Co. offer their spring importations (1,000 Cases) include a quantity of stuff goods at public auction and which I have no doubt will bring most ruinous prices. These sales I need hardly tell you are producing very bad effects...

P.S. Fanshaw & Co.'s sale by Auction went off very low, at prices which would astonish anyone unaccustomed to see the manner in which goods in this market are occasionally slaughtered...This is one consolation, however - that after these men have done, the atmosphere will be purified and a fairer chance for those who conduct their business upon legitimate and fair principles..."¹.

1. J. Butterfield, N.Y., to W. Foster, Queensbury, 11 Jan. 1857 (cited by E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills...pp.332-33).

Whilst the auction sale was declining in importance as a method of distributing imported textiles in the American market, John Butterfield's observations indicate a specific aggravation in the already deteriorating market of the time. By the autumn, Fred Butterfield was obliged to report that "the demand for goods has ceased entirely and business is brought to a complete standstill. Under the existing state of things, and with no prospect of relief for some time, I would strongly urge you [Fosters] not to ship another piece to us until further advice...."¹.

In Keighley, William Butterfield was well aware of the state of the market. In the same month that Fred was writing to Fosters, William was reporting to Henry Isaac that "...we at home [Keighley] are toiling amidst the difficulties of a great panic in the United States which is now rebounding to the Continent as well as to Old England; you will be surprised at the failures and suspensions which have taken place in New York, Boston and Philadelphia of a many first-rate houses, the high rate of interest, the low rate of Exchange Interest from two to five per cent per month, & Exchange as low as par, but ~~no~~ money to be had scarcely as if it had all been banished, no goods to be sold, & cannot tell who

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to Fosters, Queensbury, 6 Oct. 1857 (cited by E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills....., pp.334-35).

to trust. I enclose you a slip of paper with a list of names, being failures & suspensions, a many of the houses I suppose you will know or remember...."

Further, William advised Henry I. to treat his payment "from B. Brs., a credit for Fifteen Hundred pounds up to the end of the year [1857] " carefully, "as these times are queer and we scarcely know what to expect". In Yorkshire, William's mills were "running short time and have machinery standing as well, a thing we have not done before for twenty years, the trouble and danger being the high price of the raw material...."¹.

In New York, as might be expected, "Fred has had a very harassing time of it this fall [1857] and John's visit will be a God send to him."² John Butterfield's short visit to the United States was his second of 1857; and his moral support in time of crisis was no doubt welcomed almost as much as the ten thousand sovereigns he had taken out with him on the October sailing of the Persia.³ "When I left [home],

1. That is, relative to the possible selling price of the finished product. William's statement about "running short time" does not seem to accord on this occasion with J. Hodgson, p.105: "During the long period of nearly 40 years [prior to 1879] they were never under the necessity of curtailing their business by running short time...."

2. Wm. Butterfield, Keighley, to H.I.Butterfield, Paris, 22 Oct. 1857 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt. J).

3. Ibid.

the panick here [in N.Y.] had been raging for some time", John wrote in November, "and it was thought that the worst was passed....., but on arrival I was unpleasantly surprised to find that the panick had increased in violence and created a regular tornado uprooting some of the oldest and what had hitherto been thought the strongest houses. All have been destroyed by its unprecedented violence...now the whole trade is quite prostrated. I came out partially with the idea of making some good investment but found confidence so utterly destroyed in men and institutions, that I did not feel that I ought to venture as things were, and therefore kept to my legitimate position which I believe is the best 9 times out of 10....."¹.

By the end of January 1858, John's return voyage was almost completed and he was soon back in Keighley and Bradford.².

1. J. Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 30 Nov. 1857 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt. J). John had been to Baltimore, Washington (where he was introduced to President Buchanan, "with whom I had a few minutes conversation") and Philadelphia.
2. J. Butterfield, "On board the 'African', nearing port of Liverpool", and Keighley, to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 30 Jan, 23 Feb. 1858 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt. J).

Fred Butterfield's report in October, 1857 had been equally pessimistic. "The largest, best & strongest Houses are falling like rotten sheep on all sides & by the time you receive this, unless there is a miraculous interposition, in my opinion there will not be a House of any note left, but all will be engulfed in one common suspension, of course, I am alluding to those who have anything to pay. Money it is apparently impossible to get at any price, security is no object, paper is selling at fabulous prices such as issue to be considered 'gilt edged', but no one will now buy at any price & all are believed to be bound to suspend within a short time, and that nothing can save them. Business appears to be at dead lock, in fact it is as quiet as if every day was a Sunday as people do not know who to sell to"¹. By March 1858, John Butterfield asserted that in view of the state of American trade, "...if the great P. [sic.] had gone, there would have been only two houses in the U.S. trade in this country [Britain] who could have sustained themselves, one of them A. & S. Henry [& Co., Manchester], the other I need not state, that was publicly asserted at the time..."².

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 11 Oct. 1857 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt. J).
2. J. Butterfield, Keighley, to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 27 Mar. 1858 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt. J). The name of the firm "I need not state" is obviously Butterfields.

Fred Butterfield was able to sustain himself amidst the avalanche of business suspensions of 1857-58. The position of his importing business was surely precarious, as indeed was that of most large-scale operators who survived, but from the evidence available it is impossible to state with any degree of accuracy how close, if at all, he came to suspension. It must be assumed, for instance, that the wisdom Fred had shown in dealing with Henry Isaac's investments applied to his own financial affairs. "Fortunately, very fortunately, when the crisis commenced", wrote Fred, "I had loaned out to different parties & which was to be considered 'Confidential under all circumstances' the following amount of Money & which...fully secures your money in my hands without reference to any other property that I may have in B.Bros. business, or outside of it, viz. the sum of 'One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars', & that although some if not all of the parties holding it may fail, I am satisfied the amounts are safe...I do not feel the least uneasiness about it, but I am thankful it happened to be so invested, for had it not been so the probability is it

would have been invested in paper upon which I should lose heavily"¹ Nevertheless, even two years later, Fred was adamant that Henry Isaac's loan of \$25,000 to Mr. Falconer at 10 per cent p.a. for three or five years - Fred extracting 3 per cent in return for securing the interest - should be "in your name so that if you think proper you can take it on your own a/c...and it would be better in that shape for me than in my own name should anything occur before the loan matured for reason that you will at once appreciate without any further observation on my part..."²

Almost certainly the greatest support given to Fred Butterfield during his hour of need was Henry Isaac's loan of \$120,000 at 7 per cent p.a. for the period January 1858 to December 1860.³ It is

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 11 Oct. 1857 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt. J).
2. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 17 Dec. 1859 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 3).
3. Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 2. Agreement signed 1 Feb. 1858.

also probable that some or all of the ten thousand sovereigns taken to the United States by John Butterfield in October 1857 assisted Fred's uncertain position. Although John's visit had been "partially with the idea of making some investment", he decided against it in view of the current economic conditions, and "therefore kept to[his] legitimate position".^{1.}

In early 1858, William Butterfield reported from Keighley that "Business is dull and expected to be for some time, but it is no doubt working on to a solid bottom, and then I think will return a profit to those parties who do a legitimate business".^{2.} But even towards the end of the following year, Fred wrote that business in New York was "very far from what it ought to be and it is impossible to realise the advance on goods that these increased costs on

1. Wm. Butterfield, Keighley, to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 22 Oct. 1857; John Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 30 Nov. 1857 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt. J).
2. Wm. Butterfield, Keighley, to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 16 Mar. 1858 (Ibid.).

your side warrants";^{1.} and that "There is nothing new going on here, business is excessively dull, and the cares and anxieties weigh more heavily than ever".^{2.} Early 1860 produced little improvement: "There is nothing new here that I can advance of business...plenty of goods and hard work to sell them at a profit".^{3.}

The possibility and actuality of Secession and Civil War brought further dislocation to an already difficult trading situation. In December 1860, Fred Butterfield was able to offer Fosters "...no encouragement to forward any further supplies of your fabrics", and recommended that those goods already in bond in New York should be re-shipped to England. In February 1861, trade in New York was "in a horrible condition"; and in March, it was still "...depressed to a degree...we see no prospect of any decided change for the better".^{4.} Writing some two weeks

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to Fosters, Queensbury, 29 Nov. 1859 (cited by E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills...., p.335).
2. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 15 Dec. 1859 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 3).
3. Ibid., 19 Feb. 1860.
4. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to Fosters, Queensbury, 4, 25 Dec. 1860, 4 Feb., 12 Mar. 1861 (cited by E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills..., p.335).

after the outbreak of war in April 1861, Fred bemoaned the state of America: "...the free States appear to be determined to put down the Southern States at all hazards and at every sacrifice...in the meantime, all business communication is cut off from the South and the whole Country so thoroughly disorganised that it does seem as if two thirds [of] the business community will have to suspend - already the failures and suspensions are very numerous and every day adds to their number, the distress does not appear to be confined to Houses which have stood No. 2 and 3 but the best of Houses appear to be going the first and soonest, with this I send...a list of what have occurred within 8 days; and I anticipate", Fred's gloomy prognosis continued, "that May [1861] will see a great bulk of Jobbers and Importers completely wiped out for the time being, it is said to be the greatest convulsion the country ever suffered and there will be more money lost this spring than was ever lost before in the same time, we of course are catching it right and left and I am having a nice time of it. However, it cannot be helped and the only way is to stand up to it as well as possible. The depreciation of all kinds of property is perfectly frightful. You [Henry I.]

may thank your stars that I am responsible for your fortune, I expect to lose half mine at least and shall be thankful to get off with that which is not a very prospect pleasant. Oh, how sick I am of the dry goods trade, and all that belongs to it, it must have a very important effect upon England, France and Germany and cause much embarrassment to the Houses connected with this Country [U.S.] which you will doubtless hear of in good time..."¹.

In the years succeeding the Civil War, Fred's letters contain occasional indications of an imperfect American market. In early 1867, for instance, he remarked on "the present prospective unsettled state of this Country [U.S.] financially...", though he wished to "strongly urge [Henry I.] to loan out....., believing that it is your interest to do so...;" and in a contemporary letter: "Commercial matters wear a very poor aspect here and business is very bad indeed, a great many failures occurring, and apparently likely to occur without a great change for the better..."².

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 29 Apr. 1861 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 3).
2. Fred Butterfield to H.I. Butterfield, 4, 7 Jan. 1867 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 4).

Fred found himself in need of further financial support in the 1870's. In June 1876, he bound himself to pay by January 1880 the sum of \$286,021.48 to Henry Isaac. By early 1879, however, with trading difficult, Fred was requesting an extended period of repayment (until January 1885): "there is nothing particularly new here, times are hard, business not very profitable as a rule and scores of thousands of people out of employment, notwithstanding money can be had on call at $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum and the Country growing with the abundance of all kinds of the necessaries of life. I see times are also bad in England which I regret..."¹.

Throughout his residence of some forty years in the United States, Fred Butterfield's principal base of operations was located in New York City. In 1852, \$261.17s.10d. was paid by "Messrs.Butterfield Brothers, New York", to Walter Mackenzie, of Glasgow, as "Trustee on the sequestrated Estate of Buchanan & Anderson".² In early 1858, a New York firm "were not a

1. Fred Butterfield to H.I. Butterfield, 31 Jan. 1879; "Draft agreement altering terms of loan from Henry I. Butterfield, Paris, to Fred Butterfield, N.Y., 3 Feb. 1879"(Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 5, 6).
2. Receipt dated 27 Jan. 1852 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt. J).

little disappointed...upon calling at your Brother's store to learn from [Fred] that he had no discretion from you [Henry I.] in reference to the settlement of the note you hold against us for 3,370 Dollars..."¹
Fred Butterfield's business address in at least the late 1870's and early 1880's was Nos. 476 and 478 Broome Street, and 62 Wooster Street, New York.² Even in 1853, however, there was evidence of a trading base in Philadelphia, for in February of that year, the press obituary of Mrs. Sarah Butterfield referred to "Messrs. Butterfield Bros., well-known eminent manufacturers of Keighley, New York and Philadelphia".³
Fred Butterfield & Co. also possessed a widespread organisation. "We employ men in Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore", noted Fred in 1870, "to sell various goods by cards and charge to expense account what we

1. Douglas Wheelock (or Whulock) & Co., N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 1 Feb. 1858 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. A, 4).
2. Printed letter-head, e.g., Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 9 Feb., 31 Dec. 1878, 31 Jan., 7 Apr., 7 Aug. 1879, 8 Jul. 1881 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. A, 5; Box 2, Pkt. A, 5. 6).
3. Halifax Guardian, 2 Feb. 1853.

pay for their services".¹ P.B. Worrall may well have been a manager co-ordinating the activities of these men. In 1881, he was in Bradford expecting to sail on or about 23rd June by the Germanic for New York. By early the following month, he had "arrived home safely and well and finding all in good condition both at home and the store. Mrs. Worrall and the children had been at the sea shore for nearly a month and all have wonderfully improved under the influence of the salt air. But few changes had occurred in Phila. since my leaving...."² H. Jacobus, mentioned by William Butterfield in 1858, was, by 1870,

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to Fosters, Queensbury, 11 Apr. 1870 (cited by E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills.... p.335).
2. P.B. Worrall, Union Club, Bradford, and 'Fred Butterfield & Co.', N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 11 Jun., 8 Jul. 1881 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. A, 5, Pkt. E, 4). Worrall's mode of address in both letters ("Dear Mr. Henry") and his reference to "Mr. Fred", would suggest the comradely respect felt for superior members of the family firm, commonly used in Yorkshire textiles until recent times.

a director of Fred Butterfield & Co.^{1.}

Despite the fluctuations of the American trade, Fred of all the Butterfield brothers - except perhaps Henry Isaac - invested the most heavily in promising ventures. From his earliest days in the United States he seems to have kept almost as close a watch on the stock market as on his trading affairs. In 1859, he acquired from Mr. Falconer, his father- or brother-in-law, "stock in a Manufacturing Co. to the amount of par value \$40,000 as collateral security" for a \$25,000 loan granted to Falconer by Henry Isaac.^{2.} In the 1870's, his speculation, jointly with other brothers, in ten thousand acres of land, possibly oil-bearing, in McKean County, Pennsylvania, is noted.^{3.} Early in 1878, Fred informed his brother that "The Anglo-California Bank pay me 5% semi-annually or 10% per annum and I believe from what I can learn is a safe institution. I own \$10,000 in its stock, which bye the bye I may be compelled to sell to pay off

1. Wm. Butterfield, Keighley, to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 16 Mar. 1858 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt.J); H. Jacobus to Fosters, Queensbury, 11 Apr. 1870 (Cited by E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills....., p.334).
2. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 17 Dec. 1859 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt.A, 3).
3. Andrew Boardman, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 17 Dec. 1877 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt.A, 9).

the Mtge. on my house which falls due next May 1st [1878], so if you have any idea of buying any you may as well buy some if I have to sell which I don't mean to do if I can avoid it. I enclose you the opinion of the Seligmans here..."¹. Again, in 1879, at the time that Fred was attempting to negotiate different terms for the repayment of the massive loan of more than \$286,000 from his brother, he intimated that he could repay on the original terms agreed in 1876, but that he would have to dispose of his securities to do so. This he was not inclined to do as the securities were improving with every year of keeping. "Don't misunderstand me", Fred explained"- I can pay you next January [1880] if you insist upon it, but it will only be at a terrible sacrifice to me which I naturally want to avoid". The securities referred to were "...4000 shares of Burlington R.R stk...which two years ago was worth virtually nothing, say perhaps \$5 per share, it is now worth & can be sold for \$32 $\frac{1}{2}$ per share and the prospects are it will in twelve months be worth \$60 per share, now if I could keep it I believe it would pay me by doing so \$100,000 which I would like to save. Again I have 26,000 shares (\$10 per value) which one year ago was perhaps worth \$2 is now worth 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ per share and the prospects are that within a year it will be worth per

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 9 Feb. 1878 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 5).

which would be equivalent to \$150,000 perhaps if I could keep it this Stock in the Subco [?] Tunnel Mining Co. [Nevada] ... I have other low priced Securities which there is every prospect will much increase in value as the prosperity of the country increases...."¹ It is also evident that Fred Butterfield invested in at least four lots of land in St. Paul, Minnesota.² After Fred's death, the sale of these lots raised \$17,000. The draft for \$4,485.25 received by Boardman & Boardman, as legal intermediaries, in part settlement for the sale, was apportioned as follows:

"Fred Butterfield's Ex^{ors}", 40/96 (\$1,868.86);
"R.S. Butterfield's Trustees", 30/96 (\$1,401.64);³
H.I. Butterfield, 16/96 (\$747.54); and "Heirs of Vict^{esse} de Montauban", 10/96 (\$467.21).⁴ A mortgage note for \$12,000 was also included.

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 31 Jan., 9 Apr. 1879; "Draft agreement altering terms of loan from Henry I. Butterfield, Paris, to Fred Butterfield, N.Y., 3 Feb. 1879." (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 5, 6).
2. "Copy of letters re Estate of Fred Butterfield in account with Oppenheim & Kalman (St. Paul, Minn.), 4, 7, Dec. 1888" (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 1).
3. Richard Shackleton Butterfield had died in 1869, and his wife Jane in 1850.
4. Jane ("Jennie") Wright Butterfield, the daughter of R.S. and J. Butterfield, and wife of the Vicomte de Montauban, had died in 1878, aged 28, leaving two daughters, including Jeanne (b. 1874).

Of Fred Butterfield's domestic life in the United States, there are but brief glimpses. In January 1858, at the age of 37 or 38, Fred married Caroline ("Carrie") Matilda Falconer, the only daughter of John Falconer, and friend of Henry I. and Mary R. Butterfield.^{1.} By the following year, Fred and his wife had produced their first child, also named Fred, who with his mother had "a very narrow escape from death" in early December 1859. "They were accompanied by the nurse riding out on Bloomingdale Road", reported Fred, "when the horses ran away and upset the carriage - the driver was taken up insensible with his shoulder out of joint. Carrie had her nose completely broken and her face badly cut and her body badly bruised (the baby and the nurse escaping without a scratch), but she has now nearly recovered her original beauty..."^{2.}

1. Leeds Mercury, 23 Jan. 1858. Although John Falconer was granted a loan of \$25,000 as from 1 Jan. 1860 by H.I. Butterfield, he was obviously a businessman of fairly comfortable means, as witness his ability to give Fred "stock...to the amount of par value \$40,000 as collateral security " for the loan. Carrie, before her marriage (and perhaps after), was apparently accustomed to escaping from New York's oppressive summer heat: "I have but just returned from a sojourn among the border hills of Pennsylvania... [experiencing] the engrossing enjoyments of these Summer absences...." - Carrie M. Falconer, N.Y., to Mary R. Butterfield, Paris, 9 Sep. 1857; Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 29 Nov., 17 Dec. 1859 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. G, 3; Box 2, Pkt. A, 3).
2. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 15 Dec. 1859 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 3).

A second child, Katie, was born probably within the following two years. By early 1878, this daughter, not yet of age, was giving "the greatest anxiety...bother and trouble...at home", as the result of her "unsuitable engagement". Katie, who seems to have been a very determined - or, according to Fred, "so self willed and stubborn" - young lady, was still at College in January 1879. Hopefully, Katie would remain there that Spring, but she had vowed she would stay there no more than a week or two after term ended. Fred informed his daughter that if this were the case, she must "find another home". In desperation, Fred and Carrie were thinking of taking Katie to Europe the following summer to find the time-honoured solution to an "unsuitable engagement" probably leading to an unhappy marriage.^{1.}

In general, Fred's health appears to have been good, as well it needed to be for him to head one of the

1. Fred Butterfield to H.I. Butterfield, 9 Feb. 1878, 31 Jan., 9 Apr. 1879. (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 5, 6). Katie Butterfield ultimately married Ballard Smith in N.Y., though whether he was the cause of Fred's concern is unknown (Box 1, Pkt. H, 2).

two largest textile importing organisations in the United States. By the end of the 1870²s, however, Fred was enjoying only indifferent health. Troubled with the problems of attempting to renegotiate the terms of his loan from Henry Isaac, the repayment of his house mortgage, and a recalcitrant daughter, Fred was confined to his home at No. 17, E. 48th Street, New York, for four weeks in early 1879 with a bladder complaint. By taking a trip to see "the old neighbourhood [Keighley], perhaps for the last time, as I begin to feel the effect of advancing years in many ways...", Fred hoped that his (first) voyage of 1879 "will make me a new man..."¹ Certainly, Fred's life was spared for another four years. He made a second voyage in 1879, and yet another in 1881, when Worrall reported: "Mr. Fred, who is looking very well, left [N.Y.] for Saratoga this a.m. He purposes sailing on the 21st inst. [Jul. 1881]"²

1. Fred Butterfield to H.I. Butterfield, 31 Jan., 17 Mar., 9 Apr. 1879 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 5, 6).
2. P.B. Worrall, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 8 Jul. 1881 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. A, 5).

Fred Butterfield died in New York in 1883, aged 62 or 63.^{1.}

During his four decades in the United States, Fred Butterfield visited England many times. One must assume that he crossed the Atlantic at times during his membership of "Butterfield Brothers... of New York and Philadelphia". Additionally, during the years 1857-81, that is, the period roughly covering his principalship of Fred Butterfield & Co., he sailed for his native country on at least eight occasions, probably more. No doubt with the intention of discussing the effects of the grave economic crisis in the United States, Fred sailed about the spring of 1857 and returned to New York by the Persia during the summer.^{2.} In the spring of 1859, Andrew Boardman took "the opportunity presented by...Frederick's visit to Europe to write...somewhat at length in respect to Mrs. Butterfield's estate..."; and the following spring, Fred wrote to his brother: "I do not know whether I shall visit

1. Cliffe Castle MSS, Butterfield genealogical table.
2. Paul E. Robert, N.Y., to Fred Butterfield, N.Y., 27 Apr. 1857; Carrie M. Falconer, N.Y., to Mary R. Butterfield, Paris, 9 Sep. 1857 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. E, 4; Pkt. G, 3). There is strong evidence to suggest that Fred met Henry Isaac and his wife on this trip.

Europe or not this season, not having made up my mind definitely, but the chances are that I shall unless something occurs that I do not anticipate.¹ About the end of 1867, Fred returned to New York having "had a tolerably short passage, but was very, very unwell the whole way and...still suffering from depression considerably..."² In the summer of 1870, Fred arrived in London, "& I suppose", wrote William Butterfield, "he is stopping there a few days and may turn up [at Keighley] any day with Louis; you can rely on Louis' being taken care of as before and the change will, I hope, be favourable to the development of his physical and mental strength..."³ Fred was also

1. Andrew Boardman, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 5 Mar. 1859; Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 19 Feb. 1860 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. A, 10; Box 2, Pkt. A, 3).
2. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 7 Jan. 1868 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 4).
3. Wm. Butterfield, Keighley, to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 24 Aug. 1870 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt. J). At the time, Louis, Henry Isaac's son was aged about 12.

in Yorkshire towards the end of 1872, and after his return to New York he wrote to Paris:

"...do you know a great change has come over my dreams and affections in connection with Keighley and its surroundings, I have not the same interest in it I had before, it no longer looks and feels like home..."¹. In early 1879, Fred was thinking of taking his wife and daughter to Europe, partly in his case to see Keighley "perhaps for the last time", and partly in the hope of breaking off Katie's engagement. In the event, Fred sailed without his family by the Britannic, probably reached England about the 22nd April, and left by the same ship about the 10th May. "The fact is", he wrote to his brother, "I have been unwell for 7 weeks and I go for the benefit of the sea voyage and that alone. If you are in Paris, perhaps I may run over just to say how do you do and spend a day there..."². It was, however, Fred's

1. Fred Butterfield, Bradford and N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 5 Dec. 1872, 7 Mar. 1873 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 5).

2. Fred's emphasis, "and that alone", would suggest that he was discouraging Henry I. from believing that his trip was for the purpose of his renegotiating in person the terms of the loan of 1876.

"present intention...to be [in] England again with Carr. & Katy in June or early in July to stay for some time all being well". The second was postponed until the 5th, then the 19th August.¹ Lastly, Fred revisited England in 1881.²

With the death of Fred Butterfield in 1883, F.W.L. Butterfield (Louis), the son of Henry I. and the late Mary R. Butterfield, appears to have taken over almost at once the trading business in New York.³ Indeed, Louis was the only remaining male candidate

1. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 31 Jan., 7, 9 Apr., 7 Aug. 1879 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 5, 6).
2. P.B. Worrall, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 8 Jul. 1881 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 1, Pkt. A, 5).
3. Of 17 letters from Boardman & Boardman to the Butterfields, 1884-1900, at least 13 (12 May, 9 Aug. 1886, 22 Jun. 1887, 24 Jan., 20 Jul., 9 Aug., 9 Nov. 1888, 3, 6, 18, 28 Feb., 7, 18 Mar. 1891) were addressed to F.W.L. Butterfield.

within the Butterfield family circle. Richard S. Butterfield had died in 1869, as had his married daughter Jennie in 1878, leaving two young daughters. John Butterfield had died a bachelor in 1865, William likewise in 1874. Fred's only son, Freddie, had died about 1877-78, aged 17 or 18. Moreover, Henry Isaac Butterfield had abdicated from the life of a merchant at least twenty-five years earlier.¹ From the beginning it was perhaps the intention of Fred and Henry Isaac to place their two sons in the American business; but Freddie's early death made it imperative that Louis was groomed for this position as soon as possible. Louis attained his majority in 1879, and by the end of that year or the spring of the next had arrived in New York, renewing acquaintances with his uncle Fred.² By mid-1880, Louis was receiving

1. Cliffe Castle MSS, Butterfield genealogical table; Box 3, Pkts. D, E.
2. Fred Butterfield, N.Y., to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 9 Apr. 1879 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. A, 6). Fred Butterfield had met his nephew at least once before, in the summer of 1870, when the latter was aged about 12: William Butterfield, Keighley, to H.I. Butterfield, Paris, 24 Aug. 1870 (Box 3, Pkt. J).

tuition in the law offices of Emmott, Hammond & Kidder, Equitable Building, New York, and in May 1882, he graduated from Columbia College Law School. His well-to-do background was not forgotten in his membership of the Seawanhaka Yacht Club, from May 1881 onwards.^{1.} During the remainder of the 1880s, Louis appears to have spent his time partly in New York and partly in Philadelphia; and in 1888, despite his father's displeasure he married Jessie Ridgway (1859-1927).^{2.}

It is clear that Butterfield Brothers, and later Fred Butterfield & Co., in New York, represented the home-based family manufacturing concern in Keighley and district. It is equally clear that many other

1. Receipt for tuition fees, E., H. & K. law firm, 30 Jun. 1880; receipt of fee for Diploma on Graduation, Columbia Coll. Law School, \$5.00, May 1882; receipt of membership of S. Yacht Club, 23 May 1881, et seq. Other early receipted bills include those for medical and dental treatment, 1 Jan., 16 Mar. 1881 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 2, Pkt. B).
2. Receipt of advertisement in New York Times, paid 1 May 1888, for marriage of "Butterfield-Ridgway" (Cliffe Castle MSS, Butterfield genealogical table; Box 1, Pkt. H; Box 2, Pkt. B).

textile-manufacturing firms sold their wares in the American market, either directly through the Butterfields' New York office or indirectly through the Butterfields' trading offices in Bradford. Most of these manufacturing firms were almost certainly located in the West Riding, particularly in the worsted-producing districts of Bradford and Huddersfield, but not necessarily all. Prior to 1852, for instance, Butterfield Brothers in New York appear to have sold goods consigned to them by Buchanan & Anderson, of Glasgow.¹

Of far greater importance, however, was the extensive connection - from at least 1853 until 1880 - between Butterfield Brothers, and Fred Butterfield & Co., in New York, and the manufacturing

1. Butterfield Bros., N.Y., forwarded their draft for £261.17s.10d. "upon and accepted by Butterfield Brothers of Bradford at 60 ds/et being balance of their account current with [the sequestrated Estate of] Buchanan & Anderson", at the end of 1851. Walter Mackenzie, the Trustee of the Estate, "assumed...of course that the whole goods consigned have been accounted for in said Account Current". Receipt dated Glasgow, 27 Jan. 1852 (Cliffe Castle MSS, Box 3, Pkt. J).

firm of Fosters of Black Dyke Mills, Queensbury.^{1.}

It is very probable that Fosters sent goods to America before 1847. John Foster was certainly selling his piece goods to merchants in 1834 and 1835, probably by way of the Bradford Piece Hall.^{2.} This method of doing business appears to have continued for at least a decade thereafter, though in 1844, there is evidence which suggests that the Fosters were moving towards the consignment method of trading to America: Fosters were owed money on "American goods a/c" by Francis Steinheil and Frederick Schwann. The latter continued to owe amounts on "Commission account" in the years 1846-48.^{3.}

In 1847, A. Spiers Brown of New York, the agent of Frederick Schwann & Co., the Huddersfield and Bradford manufacturing and merchanting firm, wrote to Fosters soliciting their business in the

1. E.M.Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills....., p.332.

2. Ibid., p.331: £32,000 worth of goods were sold to Leeds merchants and £3,710 to Bradford merchants between Jun. 1834 and Jul. 1835.

3. Ibid., pp.331-32.

American trade. Brown was clearly tiring of his connection with Schwanns, "...as they move too slow and are not up to the market, others outsell us all round", and was hoping for a business relationship with a more enterprising firm. In the event, apart from one or more consignments to Brown in 1847, at the end of which year Fosters were owed £425, the offer does not appear to have been taken up on a permanent basis. Fosters were employing Schwann as their agent; and Spiers Brown was in turn employed by Schwann. Fosters' initial offer to Brown, and his most favourable reaction, were obviously attempts to by-pass Schwann. Despite all the advantages, however, described by Brown should the new arrangement come to pass, Fosters, from at least 1853 onwards, chose Butterfields as their principal American agents.^{1.}

As has been seen already, the Butterfields, especially Fred and Henry Isaac, invested heavily in the American stock market in addition to speculating in land. Moreover, Fred Butterfield not only acted as

1. E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills..., pp.329-32 (including extracts from A.Spiers Brown to W.Foster, 2 letters, 11 May 1847). Fosters also appear to have traded to New York to a lesser extent through A. & S. Henry & Co. of Manchester, e.g., Henry Mitchell (of A. & S. Henry) to W. Foster, 1 Oct. 1867 (extract quoted in Ibid., p.331).

agent for the sale of Fosters' piece goods in the United States, but also performed the role of investment adviser to the Fosters in the New York stock market. In 1859, for example, Fosters requested Fred Butterfield not to send remittances for sales of their cloth, but to invest advantageously: "There will be a remittance due from you [F.B.] ere long and we wish you to invest it for us in United States 5% either 1865 or 1874 as you may deem best. In fact we leave this matter entirely in your hands having full confidence in your sound judgement. Should you not deem this investment advisable, remit the account forward as usual when due, or if the Exchange is unfavourable, we leave it to you to put it out for a short time on good security until a more favourable time for remitting takes place".¹ Again, in 1864, Fosters requested that all proceeds from the Butterfields' sales of their goods should henceforward be invested on their behalf: "In conformity with your instructions

1. J. Foster, jun., to Fred Butterfield, N.Y., 11 Nov. 1859 (cited by E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills....., pp.224, 335-36). Fred Butterfield, as a result of the request, purchased \$28,046 worth of U.S. Bonds.

to the writer yesterday, we have advised our Mr. Fred Butterfield that as Sales are made of your goods, proceeds are to be invested in U.S. 5/20's."¹.

Despite Spiers Brown's suggestion in 1847 that he should represent the Fosters and their piece goods in New York, and that "...at some future period one of your young gentlemen can pay us a visit and we will show him our connections and[he] can pick up a few new ideas among the Yankees...[he] can live here at Sister Brown's boarding house at £1 per week...", there is no evidence that any younger member of the manufacturing family ever accepted the invitation.² Fosters seem to have been perfectly happy for some thirty years to place the bulk of their American goods and investments in the reliable hands of the Butterfields without the necessity of stationing a member of the family or firm on American soil.

1. Butterfield Bros., Bradford, to Fosters, Queensbury, 5 Oct. 1864 (cited by E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills...., p.336).
2. A. Spiers Brown, N.Y., to W. Foster, Queensbury (2 letters), 11 May 1847 (cited by E.M. Sigsworth, p.331).

This was not so in the case of Frederick Schwann.

Sigmund Schwann, listed as a wool merchant of Westgate, Huddersfield, appears to have originated this West Riding firm by 1828.¹ Two years later, Frederick Schwann was operating as a "fancy goods & stuff merchant[~~in~~] Brook's Yard, Westgate, Huddersfield"; and in 1837, the same named firm of "merchants & manufacturers" was located at No. 44, Westgate, Huddersfield.² By 1841, Frederick Schwann had extended his base of operations to Bradford where, as a "stuff merchant", he was located in Swaine Street, and by 1845, both in Swaine Street and in Swann Inn Yard, Market Street.³ In 1847, Schwann was a "stuff merchant" of "Swaine Street, Bradford, and Huddersfield & Manchester".⁴ By 1850

1. Pigot, National Commercial Directory (1828-29), II, p.958.
2. Person & White, Directory of ...Leeds...York and the Clothing District of Yorkshire (1830), pp.307,316; White, History, Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire...(1837), I, p.380.
3. Pigot, National Commercial Directory (1841), p.30; Ibbetson, Directory of Bradford... (1845), pp.71, 121.
4. White, Directory of ...Leeds...York and the Clothing District of Yorkshire (1847), p.302.

he had moved from Swaine Street to nearby Booth Street, Hall Ings, Bradford.^{1.}

As already seen, during at least part of the 1840's, and certainly in 1844, 1846 and 1847, Fosters of Queensbury were consigning their piece goods to America by Frederick Schwann and his New York agent, the American Spiers Brown.^{2.} In 1847, Brown complained that Schwann was not sufficiently enterprising in the American trade "as they move too slow, and are not up to the market, others outsell us all round...A. & S. Henry & Co. of Manchester force all out of the market that oppose them, even Schwann has been compelled to give way..."^{3.} Fosters were also apparently dissatisfied with Schwann's performance for they sought the assistance of Brown initially, then the Butterfields permanently. Frederick Schwann himself was probably well aware of his firm's deteriorating record in the American trade; and it was perhaps partly because of this that about 1850-51,

1. Ibbetson, Directory of Bradford...(1850), pp.106,226.
2. Fosters were still owed money on commission account by Schwann in 1848 (E.M.Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills..., pp.331-32).
3. A. Spiers Brown, N.Y., to W.Foster, Queensbury, 2 letters, 11 May 1847 (cited by E.M.Sigsworth, pp.329-30).

the firm of "Frederick Schwann, stuff merchants" became "Schwann, Kell and Co.," listed variously as 'merchants', 'stuff merchants' and 'foreign merchants' of Bradford until 1863.^{1.}

For reasons which are not always clear, the American trading operations of Schwann, Kell & Co. appear to have encountered as many problems after 1850 as in the previous decade. Moreover, it is fortunate that the family letters of a young assistant agent of the firm have been preserved.^{2.} Thomas Henry Moore was born in Huddersfield in 1831, the eighth and youngest child of Joshua and Martha (White) Moore. In 1852, this well-educated young man was attached to Schwann, Kell & Co. in Bradford, and in the December was sent out as their assistant agent to New York. Apart from a short interval at home in 1854, Moore remained in the United States until 1856 when, stricken with consumption of the throat,

1. Collinson, West Riding, Leicestershire and Norwich Directory... (1852), pp.252, 282; White, Directory of...Leeds...York and the Clothing District of Yorkshire (1853), p.478; P.O.Directory of Yorkshire (1857), p.141; White, Directory of Bradford... (1861), pp.549, 615; Jones, Directory of Bradford... (1863), pp.91, 278. There is no listing in 1867 or later. The firm was located in Hall Ings, Bradford, in 1852; at No. 19 Booth Street, Hall Ings, in 1853 and 1857; at No. 23 Booth Street and No. 2 Bentley Street, Bradford, in 1861; and in Vicar Lane, Bradford, in 1863.
2. Marjorie Moore Blake (ed.), Family Letters of Thomas Henry Moore, 1852-56 (private mimeographed printing, Huddersfield, 1960).

he returned to Huddersfield, dying there the following year. During his time in America, he retained all the letters written to him by his family, and finally brought them home with him.¹

Thomas Henry Moore's voyage in December 1852 and his projection into the American agency with almost indecent haste may well have been caused by Spiers Brown's severing his connection with Schwann, Kell & Co. Conversely, Thomas Henry's sudden arrival in New York may have been the last straw to force Brown's resignation. At all events, "The difference with, and resignation of Mr. Brown", Thomas Henry's brother observed, "has been a most unfortunate matter for you. You must have had the difficulty to go through of making your way without introduction, in many cases I should suppose, to the go-ahead Merchants of New York, with their notoriously unblushing effrontery..."². As a young novice of 21, Moore was certainly pitched into a difficult, uncompromising situation from the start, and the early family letters abound with references to this. Nor could "Mr. Kell's" visit to the United States at the end of 1852, very shortly after Thomas Henry's departure, have done much to dispel the difficulties of

1. M.M.Blake, Family Letters..... pp.13-14.
2. John Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 12 Jun. 1853 (Family Letters...., p.28). This assumes that A. Spiers Brown and 'Mr. Brown' were synonymous.

the young Yorkshire agent, for the former soon returned to Bradford, probably in April 1853.¹ Moore first stayed in "a splendid Hotel in New York", then sought "the quiet of Brooklyn in preference to the bustling Hotel in the City,[providing]occasional retirement, if only for a few hours,....a relief...after the labours of the day...", and also visited Boston twice in the early part of 1853.²

Family observations on the circumstances and situation in which Moore found himself in 1853 are frequent. John Moore wrote to him, presumably tongue-in-cheek: "I am very happy to hear that you are all right in every respect. I never thought you the most modest of us; if you have thrown overboard what little modesty you had, you will have now what is vulgarly called here, a rare cheek. I do not blame you for it, because from what I have been led to believe of the Yankees, they are men of brass and no mistake..."³ Two months later, Harriet Moore

1. Martha Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 23 Jan. 1853; T.H. Moore, Boston, Mass., to Amelia Stephenson (sister), Huddersfield, n.d., prob.early Mar. 1853 (Family Letters...., pp.4,9-10).
2. John Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 9 Feb., 19 Mar. 1853; Martha Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 9 Feb. 1853; T.H. Moore, Boston, to Amelia Stephenson, Huddersfield, n.d., prob. early Mar. 1853 (Family Letters...., pp.7-10,12).
3. John Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 9 Feb. 1853 (Family Letters...., p.6).

remarked: "I am not sorry, but rather pleased, that you [T.H.M.] are staying longer than you originally intended, and alone too,¹ you will have a better opportunity for displaying your ability. I heartily congratulate you upon your staying under such circumstances...."²

John Moore's letter of June 1853 deserves extensive reiteration. "I am not surprised at the severity of the ordeal you have had to pass through", he wrote, "but I am at the persons who, knowing your position and circumstances, have subjected you to it. From what you say, I should conceive your position to be something like that of a raw recruit subject to the action of a veteran soldier, for I have always conceived the American Market from its extent, and importance to Europe, to be one of the most competitive markets in the world, and consequently one where the best and the most experienced and even the most unscrupulous traders have ever sought to acquire wealth and fame. That you would not realise your anticipations, I feared at your very outset. Yet that Mr. Kell would lend you every assistance and give you every encouragement I did not doubt, and am surprised and much regret that he does not

1. Presumably a reference to Kell's return to Bradford.
2. Harriet Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 19, 21 Apr. 1853 (Family Letters..., p.20).

give you full credit for your exertions, and shield you from misrepresentation and calumny. But never mind," John Moore exhorted, "keep up your spirits. You have health and strength and these will help you to bear many blows. If you can get money, use it wisely, and then you may perhaps sometime be independent of a system which sacrifices all the noblest qualities of our nature to Mammon. I am very glad to see your fine Maxim illustrative of your growing in good sense. I don't wonder that you have many who are not friendly to you on this side. In all large firms there are some who regard with envy and treat with malice those who have surpassed or are seeking to surpass them in their upward march...When you mention the circumstances attending the visits of Messrs. Brigg and Beaumont to America, it appears very clear that it has been a much nicer piece of business to them than it has been for you^{1.} From

1. "Messrs. Brigg and Beaumont" appear to have been friends of the Moores and agents or representatives of local Huddersfield merchants, or indeed manufacturer-merchants in their own right. They are noted several times, 1852-56.

the contents of your letter, it seems to me that the position of Agent for Messrs. Schwann, Kell & Co., at New York, will not be one of the nicest situations a man could have. I am extremely sorry that your visit should have been such a painful one, for your own sake, yet I don't think that similarly adverse circumstances in future will affect you so much. This ordeal will have made a marvellous difference to you, indeed I think it has...You appear to have worn off some of the ardour and impetuosity of youth..."¹. Some weeks later, Thomas Henry received further sympathy and encouragement: "I wish you had been able to give us a better account of the state of trade across the Atlantic, because I cannot conceive how you can be very happy under such circumstances, but of course you must bear it as well as you can, since it is no fault of yours..."².

After an absence of eight or nine months in America, Thomas Henry Moore returned to Huddersfield in the autumn of 1853, but sailed westwards again, perhaps somewhat

1. John Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 12 Jun. 1853 (Family Letters..., pp.26-28).
2. John and Harriet Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 13 Aug., 6 Sep. 1853 (Family Letters..., p.38).

dispiritedly, in June 1854. In the November, the Moores were "exceedingly glad to hear that [T.H.M. was] quite well, for we have been very anxious for a long time to learn how you were getting on 'out there', both in health and trade, because reports in the latter department have not been very flattering.... Beaumont told me.... that you were quite well, and enjoying yourself as much as possible under the circumstances..."¹. The following month, the Moores were "very sorry to hear that... [T.H.M. had] to endure so much...." John Moore was "not surprised that [T.H.M.] should, under such overwhelming circumstances, suffer a great deal both mentally and bodily, but... the visit of your good old friend, Mr. Beaumont, will have gladdened your heart and lightened your burden... The Hudd[ersfield] houses in the American trade all complain now..." Several firms had failed, some were working short time, others had reduced wages and salaries, and yet others had dispensed with part of their work-force. John continued: "Your visit to America, Thomas Henry, judging from what you have said to me in your private letters, are painfully full of life experience, the hard and too practical evils of years being crowded into the space of a few months. But don't despair, it is a severe ordeal to pass through, still the probability is that you will come out of it a

1. John and Harriet Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 1 Nov. 1854 (Family Letters...., pp.39-40).

much stronger man, mentally...As Mr. Kell says, you must have patience. It must be a source of considerable satisfaction to you to know that your endeavours meet with the approbation of that gentleman - - - You are either unfortunate with your American agent, or else the duties of the situation are so onerous that no one likes to retain it for long. I am sure it must be a situation full of anxiety and care and responsibility, yet I would not advise you to readily give it up. I fancy it won't always be so disgusting to you..."¹. Trade continued at a low ebb in the winter of 1854-55: "...the truth...is that the look-out at present is very bad. I mean as regards trade generally...I suppose too that we [in Huddersfield] are beginning to get Army Orders."² George Crosland & Sons have, I understand, an order for 5,000 pieces for Turkey..."³.

1. John and Harriet Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y. 17 Dec. 1854 (Family Letters... pp.44-45). Mr. Kell's "approbation" seems to have been a change of heart from his unwillingness six months earlier to give Thomas Henry "full credit for your exertions, and [to] shield you from misrepresentation and calumny". Perhaps Kell's earlier appraisal reflected the dismay he felt about the state of the firm's American trade after his short visit to the United States, late 1852-early 1853.
2. That is, for the Crimean War.
3. John Moore to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 18 Feb. 1855 (Family Letters..., pp.46-47).

In New York, Thomas Henry pursued his endeavours unremittingly despite the problems he faced. In the spring of 1855, he wrote to his brother-in-law, Samuel Stockwell, in Manchester, enquiring about supplies of a certain material, and received the answer:

"I have made enquiries respecting the Cloth and find it is made in[Manchester], and can be procured from the Agents in London, Manchester and Glasgow at 18/- and 19/- Pr Ps in Blk, and is sold retail by Falkner Brothers, Stevenson square, at 21/- or 1/10 Pr yd if cut, that is for Bk of the Quality of your pattern, we keep it in the W'house, we get it from London 'Deliver^d free' at 18/-, Croket's Cloth, which is considered the best. We do not buy more than 20 P^s at once, our Buyer says the Demand is increasing. I tried to get an order from him but I could not state any Price as there will no doubt be freight and duty to pay upon what you quote, and again he does not buy any Large Quantity. I saw a Pattern Card maker, but he says it does not answer their purpose, as it is liable to tear in the using of the Cards...I have also seen a Bookbinder who informs me it is being used in that trade; he has not

yet used it but intends to do so. It is also being used for Buys' Felt Hat Lining, etc. I have had the report of a Cabinet maker, but understand it is used largely by them here. I have now finished my report.... Any information I can get for you at any time, I shall be glad to do if it advance your interest, so do not be afraid of Troubling me..."¹.

Thomas Henry was not entirely isolated in the United States. Robert Kell, of Schwann, Kell & Co., visited him in early 1853.² The name of Shillingford occurs several times in the correspondence between 1854 and 1856, and he may have been Thomas Henry's counterpart in Philadelphia, or indeed superior in America.³ The novelty of Thomas Henry's situation and its attendant problems, seem to have been aggravated by Shillingford's (unspecified) difficulties. In late 1854, John Moore, commiserating with his brother in New York, noted: "Poor Shillingford! It seems that trade affects him very much. I don't wonder at it..."; and a few weeks later: "I am very sorry to hear that Mr. Shillingford is so unfortunately situated, and that you have to endure so much in consequence..."⁴ In 1856,

1. Samuel and Jane Stockwell, Hulme, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 11 May 1855 (Family Letters..., p.49).

2. T.H. Moore, Boston, Mass., to Amelia Stephenson, Huddersfield, n.d., prob. early Mar. 1853 (Family Letters..., pp.9-10).

3. Thomas Henry is at times referred to as the 'assistant agent' and at others as the 'agent' in the United States of Schwann, Kell & Co.

4. John and Harriet Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 1 Nov., 17 Dec. 1854 (Family Letters..., pp.40,44).

Shillingford corresponded with Huddersfield, as did "Mr. Schwann's Agent in Philadelphia" with Bradford - if the two were not synonymous - concerning the symptoms of Thomas Henry's grave illness.^{1.}

It is evident that Thomas Henry saw many Yorkshire faces in America, especially those of principals or agents of West Riding firms engaged in the American trade. In 1853, "Messrs. Brigg and Beaumont" visited America, and "it appears very clear that it has been a much nicer piece of business to them than it has been for you

[T.H.M.]...."^{2.} Thomas Henry's "good old friend, Mr. Beaumont" again visited him about the middle of the following year, a visit which, John Moore hoped, "will have gladdened your heart and lightened your burden".^{3.}

G.B.Beaumont, apparently on close terms with both Moores, was frequently able to pass on pieces of news about Thomas Henry in New York to John in Huddersfield. Some of these snippets could only have come indirectly by way of Huddersfield representatives travelling or resident in America. In June 1856, for example, John Moore advised his ailing brother: "Mr. Beaumont informed me about a week ago that someone was going from here to you on Saturday next, and that he will be very willing to take a

1. John Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 2 letters, 24 Apr. 1856; T.H. Moore to John Moore, 13 May 1856 (Family Letters...., pp.63-65).
2. John Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 12 Jun. 1853 (Family Letters...., p.28). Beaumont later called at the Moores' residence at Gledholt, Huddersfield.
3. John and Harriet Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 1 Nov., 17 Dec. 1854 (Family Letters...., pp.40, 44-45).

parcel for us..."¹. Moreover, the Yorkshire^{man} referred to in the correspondence simply as 'Brigg' was a Huddersfield merchant, and probably manufacturer, engaged in the American trade: he not only employed a representative in the United States, but also visited there himself in at least 1853.² Writing at a time of depressed trade, short time, and reduced wages in late 1854, John Moore queried: "How will Brigg fare in it, think you? I should fancy he will find it mighty hard for him..."³. Six months later, however, "There was a decided improvement in the American trade...I have had a painter at my shop today, and he told me that his brother has been travelling in the States for Brigg. He used to be with Firth and Homan, his name is Knight, he is now over here living with Brigg, do you know him?...Brigg set his men on again, and also another man, who used to be at Schwanns, named Holloway, and I met young Brigg the other day and he told me they had as much trade as they could do, all American, of course. I believed him..."⁴. Another six months, and "...Brigg of late has appeared to be getting on very well. A person who is at a warehouse next door says he [Brigg] does a good deal of business now

1. John Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 26 Jun. 1856 (Family Letters..., pp.68-69).
2. Ibid. to Ibid., 12 Jun. 1853 (Family Letters..., p.28).
3. Ibid. to Ibid., 17 Dec. 1854 (Family Letters..., p.44).
4. Ibid. to Ibid., 17 Jun. 1855 (Family Letters..., pp.51-52)

...The youngest Brigg I frequently see and always ask him how business is with them, says they are doing pretty well..."¹.

Thomas Henry Moore also had family connections and trade acquaintances in Lancashire. In May 1855, his brother-in-law, Samuel Stockwell, wrote to him: "I occasionally see your friend Casson, they have been exceedingly quiet this winter[1854-55], he tells me there is one of his young men over on your side, our Mr. Walter Westhead has been over with you but has returned unexpectedly. I understand he intends coming over again in a few months. I suppose you will occasionally see our Agent, Mr. Diggle, how do you think he is doing? I do not hear much of him at home..."². In 1856, "...A person who had seen [Thomas Henry] in New York told Stockwell that you looked ill..."³.

Throughout his period of residence in the United States, Thomas Henry Moore seems to have had good cause for his complaints about his home firm of Schwenn, Kell & Co. His grumbles were much the same as those of Spiers Brown and probably Fosters earlier - lack of enterprise and,

1. John Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 18, 21 Dec. 1855 (Family Letters..., pp.57-58).
2. Samuel and Jane Stockwell, Hulme, to T.H. Moore, 11 May 1855 (Family Letters..., pp.49-50).
3. John Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 1 Aug. 1856 (Family Letters..., p.69).

despite all his recommendations, the firm's failure to provide the types of cloth at competitive prices most required by the American customer. In 1855, for instance, John Moore commiserated yet again with his brother:

"I am sorry, indeed, to hear that you have such distaste for your present position, though I can easily conceive how that must be the case, if every endeavour of yours is not heartily seconded on this side. I should be very glad indeed to see you in business on your own account, with a fair prospect of success..."¹

Sadly, Thomas Henry's own business was not to be, for by the spring of 1856, he was seriously ill with consumption and his "Constitution was spoken of as shattered". He had travelled widely in "the different States of America", and had received every care and attention in Savannah.² In May, he wrote with misplaced optimism from his New York boarding-house: "...I still continue to improve, and of course attend partially to business; fortunately it demands but little attention at the present time, the winter season being over, and the spring not yet having commenced, nor is it due for a month hence, and in the meantime I hope with my present careful and judicious habits to have fully regained my health. I shall not return to your side until Sept^r. [1856] - I have the privilege of returning to your side, but things here are in a desperate state, and my absence would materially increase the confusion..."³

1. John Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 2 Aug. 1855 (Family Letters..., p.55).
2. Ibid to Ibid., 18, 21 Dec. 1855, 24 Apr. (2 letters) 1856 (Family Letters..., pp.57, 62-64).
3. T.H. Moore, N.Y., to John Moore, Huddersfield, 13 May 1856 (Family Letters..., pp.65-66).

"You must come home at once...", entreated John Moore in reply ; "let no business consideration prevent you - life and health are your first considerations...I know your devotion to business is such that you will attend to it while you can move at all. Don't be a martyr to such a thing..." A replacement for Thomas Henry had reached New York. " I am surprised at the arrival of Mr. Weiss being unexpected, as Mr. Beaumont told me a considerable time before that [Mr. W.] was expected to go out to the States on his return from Portugal, And that when he got there you would probably come home almost immediately..."¹ Thomas Henry's return to Huddersfield, however, could not save him: what little of his health remained failed rapidly and he died there, aged only 26, in 1857.

The firm of Schwann, Kell & Co., seems to have survived but a few years more. There were rumours in 1855 "that Mr. Schwann was about to retire from business in favour of his sons and the Kells, and that he was about to purchase a farm and turn farmer".² It is possible that the firm's American trading problems, especially those relating to customers in the South, finally reached their climax during the Civil War, for the last Directory reference to the firm occurs in 1863, and there

1. John Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 1 Aug. 1856 (Family Letters..., p.69).
2. John Moore, Huddersfield, to T.H. Moore, N.Y., 17 Jun. 1855 (Family Letters..., pp.52-53).

is no listing in 1867 or later.¹ Frederick Schwann himself died 22 April 1882, at No. 23

Grosvenor Square, Hyde Park, London, in his 84th year.²

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, it must be supposed that the number of Yorkshire representatives permanently or even temporarily resident on American soil, and directly concerned with consignments of West Riding wool textiles, declined rapidly. In the first half of the century, large numbers of travellers crossed the Atlantic in order to supervise the sale of their home products, particularly woollen textiles of all grades. Indeed, "Historically, the wool textile has been one of the major exporting industries of the country. It developed its bulk of production partly on the basis of export abroad".³ During the 1840's, worsteds had grown steadily in importance in this trade, and eventually overshadowed woollen cloths; and by 1860 American imports chiefly concentrated on high-grade woollens and most worsteds. Subsequently, by 1890, whilst about 25 per cent of all woollen and worsted exports still went to the United States, worsteds were of

1. Jones, Directory of Bradford... (1863), pp.91, 278.

2. Bradford Observer, 25 Apr. 1882.

3. W. Smith, An Economic Geography of Great Britain, p.458.

overwhelming importance.^{1.}

1. H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...", 226, 285; "Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade", 147. From 1890 onwards, overall exports of "woollen and worsted tissues from the United Kingdom "to all destinations declined, and American importations of yardage, though still important, declined correspondingly. W. Smith, An Economic Geography..., p.459, Table LXXI, cites the following figures in respect of total worsted exports from the U.K.:

(Yearly Avege. <u>during period</u>)	All Wool <u>Worsted Tissues</u>	Mixed <u>Worsted Tissues</u>
1890 - 94	32.1	108.1)
1895 - 99	32.4	93.3)
1900 - 04	21.6	80.2)
1905 - 08	22.1	72.6)
1909 - 13	23.3	55.4)

million
linear
yards.

Apart from increasing tariff protection in Europe (France, 1874, 1880; Germany after 1879; Russia, Italy and Austro-Hungary in the 1880s), probably the greatest single blow to Bradford's exports came with the passing of the McKinley Tariff in 1890. This was replaced by the less severe Wilson Tariff, which in turn was scrapped for the drastic Dingley Tariff. This is illustrated by the value of "Exports from Bradford Consular District to the U.S.A.", cited by E.M. Sigsworth, "Bradford and its Worsted Industry under Victoria (1837-1901)", B.T.S.J., 1952-53; 68.

Years affected by	<u>McKINLEY TARIFF</u>	<u>WILSON TARIFF</u>	<u>DINGLEY TARIFF</u>
Value in million pounds.			
1888: £4.2	1891: £2.4	1895: £5.7	1898: £1.4
1889: £4.7	1892: £2.8	1896: £2.8	1899: £1.8
1890: £4.1	1893: £2.0	1897: £5.0	1900: £1.6
	1894: £1.7		

In the earlier half of the century, "the American trade" was able to accommodate representatives of every type of Yorkshire textile manufacturing concern producing almost every grade of woollen cloth. By the 1840s, however, native American manufacturers, despite the intense competition of British exports, had managed to gain most of the lower-grade market within the United States. The American buyer in Boston, New York and Philadelphia, at both merchanting and consumer levels, had also become more discriminating in his choice of goods. In 1847, Brown had warned Fosters of Queensbury that "...to do a prosperous trade with America it must be done by getting up goods to suit the markets and if possible have them sent in bulk through orders direct and some goods occasionally to supply those of the trade in immediate want..." Brown then noted four firms, including Butterfield Brothers and A. & S. Henry & Co., who had complied with these requirements and had consequently "done so well". Brown added: "...in this House of Henry's you see a good example of the fruits of industry, this whole trade has been built up by themselves and they make up the most shewy styles and best finish goods I have ever seen..."^{1.} Conversely, by their lack of enterprise, according to Brown, Frederick Schwann & Co. were being gradually forced

1. A. Spiers Brown, N.Y., to W. Foster, Queensbury (2 letters), 11 May 1847 (cited by E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills..., pp.329-30).

out of the American market, a process which involved Thomas Henry Moore in a distasteful residence in the United States between 1852 and 1856. Only those few firms possessing great resources and an acute knowledge of the exacting requirements of the American market could hope to succeed over an extended period. Whilst it was always possible in the second half of the century for an individual Yorkshireman to promote specialised types of textiles, especially of the worsted type, the odds on steady success always lay with the few great concerns such as the Butterfields and A. & S. Henry with their representatives permanently resident in the United States.

PART 3. YORKSHIRE TEXTILE EMIGRATION.

2. WOOL MANUFACTURERS, CRAFTSMEN & OPERATIVES.

(a) 1760-1814.

The American wool industry - and the involvement of Yorkshire emigrants in it - dates from the earliest years of the colonial period. In 1643, some twenty or more Yorkshire families, comprising woolcombers and carders, settled in Rowley, Massachusetts Bay Colony. The group took many of their implements with them from England, soon attracted wide attention in their ability to produce woollen cloths, and later built the first fulling mill in America. At about the same time, a dominant household industry was effected by the settlement of groups in other areas, and further fulling mills were established in Salem and Roxbury (1657), Dorchester (1659) and Watertown (1662).^{1.}

American wool manufacture during the colonial period, however, remained a household industry. Several factors contributed to the lack of change in this status: the poor quality of the wool supply, imperial restrictions, and the importation of English cloths, superior in quality and often selling at a lower price than the American product. England supplied

1. W. Von Bergen & H.R. Mauersberger, American Wool Handbook (New York, 1948), pp.1-3.

the first wool to America, but the few sheep imported from England found the New England winter too hostile for survival. The exportation of sheep from Great Britain was forbidden in 1660, and this limitation of the wool supply prevailed until 1765.^{1.}

Initially, official assistance to the domestic wool trade was forthcoming within the colonies. Between 1640 and 1700, weavers, fullers, combers (and other artisans) are known to have received offers of acreage in return for their craft services to a local community or colony. In 1640-43, Massachusetts offered a bounty for every yard of cloth produced from locally grown wool or linen. Acts were also passed prohibiting the export of woollen goods and the slaughtering of sheep. Exportation of grease wool was forbidden in 1675. Similar measures were enacted in other colonies. Woollen cloth production was also encouraged by exemption from local taxation. By these measures, local communities received assistance, but the welfare of the colonies in general was but barely influenced.^{2.}

1. W. Von Bergen & H.R. Mauersberger, American Wool Handbook (New York, 1948), p.2.

2. Ibid., p.5.

On the debit side, however, the mercantile policies of the mother country served to restrict rather than to encourage the colonial wool industry: the colonies were to consume England's manufactures, not to produce and export in direct competition. To this end, two laws passed by Virginia in 1683 - one, to prohibit the exportation of wool, and a second, to grant bounties for woollen and linen cloth production - were disallowed by H.M. Commissioners of Customs. The Wool(l)en(s) Act passed by Parliament in 1699 prohibited, in theory at least, the export of or intercolonial trade in wool by water.¹ Two further laws were enacted by Parliament at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The first required that no sailor or passenger leaving the colonies should have purchased more than forty shillings worth of woollen goods in America; and the second abolished export duties on woollen fabrice exported from England in 1700. Despite restrictive Parliamentary legislation aimed at preventing the "setting up of Woollen Manufacture in the English plantations in America", and despite the exportation of English cloths to the colonies, the American wool industry continued to grow as a household and handicraft

1. Carl Ubbelohde, The American Colonies and the British Empire, 1607-1763 (London, 1969), pp.63-64; William Miller, A New History of the United States (London, 1968), p.67. Prof. Ubbelohde notes that "the law's impact was probably much greater in Ireland than in America".

system.^{1.} As late as 1767, Governor Moore of New York was able to write: "The custom of making coarse cloths in private families prevails throughout the entire province, and in almost every house a sufficient quantity is manufactured for the use of the family, without the least design of sending any of it to market".^{2.}

Moreover, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the American colonies were producing several types of woollen and worsted fabrics within the household system, though these lacked the quality, variety and established reputation of cloths manufactured by the mother country. The most important of the American woollens - destined to pass into folk-lore - was the well-fulled, though rough, all wool 'homespun'. 'Linsey-woolsey', as the name implied, was a durable combination of flax warp and wool weft. A union cloth of cotton and wool was made in the South. Kerseys and flannels were produced in very small quantities; but broadcloth was unknown before about 1760. Worsted cloths, generally referred to as 'stuffs', included 'serge', calimanco(e), drugget, crepe and camblet, required a greater skill in production, and were mainly imitations of British or

1. Von Bergen & Mauersberger, pp.5-6.

2. Eleanor L. Lord, Industrial Experiments in the British Colonies of North America (1898), p.131.

earlier Western European cloths.¹ The early settlers included English - and Scottish - born weavers whose knowledge of worsted weaving was passed down from one generation to another.²

Such then was the position of the American wool industry in the latter years of colonial dependence. The industry continued to grow, but purely on a domestic household and handicraft basis. There is general agreement that woollen or worsted cloths, whilst they may have been bartered for other commodities, did not enter colonial or intercolonial commerce. There were as yet "no signs of a factory system nor a systematic marketing of commercial cloths by groups".³

In the five pre-Revolutionary years, the general conditions for emigration from England were similar for both Yorkshire merchant and artisan. Both would expect to succeed in America in the years 1770-72, when business was flourishing at home and commercial opportunities beckoned in the colonies. Thereafter, a steadily deteriorating political situation and non-importation policies in the colonies, occasioning industrial depression in the Yorkshire wool-manufacturing

1. 'Tammies', a lightweight dress fabric, may well have been a worsted of American origin.
2. Von Bergen & Mauersberger, p.4; A.H.Cole, The American Wool Manufacture, I, passim.
3. Von Bergen & Mauersberger, pp.4-5.

districts, led many artisans to choose the lesser of two evils by emigrating. Many felt it was better to tackle the opportunities offered overseas than to suffer to no avail at home.^{1.}

Despite the delight felt in Yorkshire in 1770 at the repeal of nearly all the Townshend duties and the agreement of "the inhabitants of New York...to the importation of goods from England...",^{2.} in some respects, the cloth trade of Leeds and Wakefield had never fully recovered from the depressed years following the Seven Years' War. Unemployment was to be found in some specialised lines; and labour troubles existed in some areas between masters and journeymen.^{3.} In the winter of 1773-74, some six hundred persons were fed by public subscription in Leeds.^{4.} Complaints of scarcity and high prices were commonplace, especially in the county's urban centres.^{5.}

Emigration to America was one apparent answer to distress and discontent. In February 1773, "...27 Persons

1. H. Heaton, *Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States...*, 235.
2. Leeds Intelligencer, 21 Aug. 1770.
3. Mildred Campbell, "English Emigration on the Eve of the Revolution", 15.
4. Leeds Mercury, 1 Feb. 1774; York Chronicle, 4 Mar. 1774.
5. Mildred Campbell, 14.

from the Neighbourhood of Thirsk, and five from Malton, passed through Leeds on their way to Liverpool, in order to ship themselves off for America. A Person also went from Bramley...purposing to go to Philadelphia. They all took with them some Woollens and marketable Goods".¹ The following May, "several families from Horsforth [and nearby] set out for Liverpool, in order to embark at that place for America. - Many more families [were] preparing to follow their example".² In the four months, 3rd August to 29th November 1773, some 1,400 emigrants from England, Scotland and Germany, were landed at the North American ports of Philadelphia, New York, Charleston, S.C., Newport, R.I., Halifax, N.S., (and New Jersey).³ "Several of the [Yorkshire] beize weavers [who were] preparing to go to America" in the autumn of 1773, "on account of an invitation received from thence", may well have been included in the list of English passengers.⁴

1. York Courant, 2 Mar. 1773.

2. Leeds Intelligencer, 18 May 1773; York Chronicle, 21 May 1773.

3. Leeds Intelligencer, 19 Jul. 1774. In the same period, 6,222 persons from Ireland and 56 from the Isle of Man were reported as landing at the same American ports (listed above in order of numbers arriving).

4. Newcastle Courant, 30 Oct. 1773.

Yorkshire emigration intensified in 1774.

"There is scarcely a week", read one report, typical of many, "but some are removing from [the Leeds area] for the plantations; finding it next to impossible, in the present lamentable state of trade, and the dearness of provisions, to provide in any sort for themselves and families".^{1.}

At this point, it is opportune to consider the magnitude of the Yorkshire textile emigration to America in the two years immediately prior to the outbreak of war. Customs officials in every English port from which passengers were leaving appear to have responded conscientiously in the main to the Treasury order of 8th December, 1773, requiring the submission of weekly reports of the numbers emigrating, together with details of their sex, age, occupation, reasons for leaving, and other data.^{2.} The Treasury, in turn, transcribed these weekly returns covering the period from December 1773 to April 1776.^{3.}

1. York Chronicle, 20 May 1774; York Courant, 24 May 1774.

2. P.R.O., T.47/10, T.29/44.

3. Ibid., T.47/9-10-11. The weekly returns were again transcribed by Gerald Fothergill and printed in The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, LXII-LXV (Boston, Mass., 1908-11).

A slight degree of caution must be observed, concerning the documents' authenticity, when dealing with the precise occupation and status of the emigrants listed. This caution, however, should not be overstated, compared with consideration, say, of emigration reports of the mid-nineteenth century. In the emigration reports of 1773-76, there would undoubtedly be some labourers or unskilled workers who described themselves as artisans either to enhance their own reputation or to improve their chances of higher wages in America. On the other hand, there was no reason in those years why genuine artisans should disguise the fact that they were skilled men. Acts in 1719 and 1750 had prohibited artisans from emigrating to countries other than the British colonies, but until 1776, the emigrants' American destinations were still British colonies. Moreover, the documents list a total of 258 different crafts and skills, many highly specialised. There would seem to be little point in faking such specific skills, especially as some were skills not only little sought after by colonial agents but also easily open to detection. In general, therefore, one must accept that the descriptions of occupation and status are valid.^{1.}

1. Mildred Campbell, 3-6.

A consideration of textile emigration in the period, December 1773 to April 1776 - in effect, the years 1774 and 1775 - also presents a number of difficulties. In total, nearly twelve thousand people, sailing for all destinations, are recorded in the customs officials' returns; and of these about one-half were aiming to settle in the New World.^{1.} Among those sailing for America, no fewer than 31 textile and allied occupations are listed covering 384 heads of families or mature individuals: 38, or almost exactly one in ten, stated they were from Yorkshire, including four specifically from York and one from Sheffield.^{2.}

Certain occupations, allied or peripheral to textile production, are included in the passenger lists of 1774 and 1775. A total of 107 tailors,

1. Mildred Campbell, 4.
2. Compiled from Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXII-LXV. However, by no means all the 201 textile emigrants from London (including those specifically from Southwark, Westminster and Enfield) had necessarily been "born", as Mildred Campbell, 7, notes generally, "within the sound of Bow Bells". Some had undoubtedly migrated to the city earlier from the provinces (including Yorkshire), either in expectation of greater opportunities or under the cloak of relative anonymity. Nevertheless, the emigrants are listed as Londoners.

including ten from Yorkshire, sailed for America,^{1.} as did four mercers (two from Yorkshire) and one linen draper. The figures also include one shuttle maker and one stocking-frame maker.

In the actual production of materials, several branches of textiles are represented, nowhere more so than under the heading of 'weavers', comprising the largest overall group - 191 (18 from Yorkshire) out of the total of 384 textile emigrants. 128 (15 from Yorkshire) described themselves simply as 'weavers', though the majority, especially those from Yorkshire, were probably producers of wool fabrics; and a further seven were more specific, being weavers of 'woollens' (4), 'worsteds' (2) and 'serges' (1). Yet another four (one from Yorkshire) described themselves as 'cloth weavers', probably of wool, and another three as 'cloth workers' (one from Yorkshire) and one as a 'cloth worker and dyer'. Additionally, eight 'clothiers' were emigrating though significantly,

1. 'Mantua makers' have not been included in the total of 384 textile emigrants.

no one from Yorkshire so described himself.^{1.}

Concerning wool fabrics, however, the full story is unlikely to be revealed even by honest statistics. Many emigrants from the agricultural communities of Yorkshire, and indeed elsewhere, were able to turn their hand very successfully to weaving, and many, though self-styled 'farmers' in the shipping lists, were equally happy behind the loom as behind the plough, dependent upon the seasonal demands of agriculture. Moreover, particularly in the West Riding, where migration from 'agriculture' to 'industry', and vice versa, was often but a matter of a few miles at most, many workers performed a role in both areas at different times of the year, or reverted wholly to agricultural pursuits in times of industrial distress.

1. Perhaps these clothiers were included in the "great number of journeymen clothiers from Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, [who were] going over to New-York, to be employed in the woollen manufactories of that province" (Newcastle Journal, 10-17 Sep. 1774). The "woollen manufactories" referred to in 1774 were surely small groups of private production within the household and handicraft system, as described by Gov. Moore of New York in 1767 (Eleanor L. Lord, Industrial Experiments in the British Colonies of North America, p.131). The credit for the first attempt at a woollen factory goes to the wool-working enterprise (the Hartford Woollen Company) launched by Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth at Hartford, Conn., in 1788 (Von Bergen & Mauersberger, p.6).

It is clear, therefore, that some Yorkshire farmers, whilst describing their prime occupation truthfully to the customs official at the port of departure, omitted their secondary occupation of weaving.

Not surprisingly, in view of the importance of wool, about 73 per cent of all the emigrating 'weavers' (including 'woollen', 'worsted' and 'cloth weavers', and 'cloth workers') had been probably concerned hitherto with the manufacture of wool fabrics. Other types of weavers, however, are well represented in the shipping lists: 18 linen weavers (one from Yorkshire), 17 silk weavers (one from Yorkshire), nine stocking weavers, five sail-cloth weavers, two ribbon weavers and one shag weaver.^{1.} Two framework knitters also sailed.

Processes preparatory to and succeeding the weaving of the several types of fabrics are listed among the emigrants' occupations. In all 20 woolcombers (one from Yorkshire) sailed;^{2.} and three cloth dressers (one from Yorkshire) may have been concerned with

1. Shag: long-napped rough cloth, or form of carpet.
2. The one Yorkshire emigrant under this heading perhaps illustrates the more widespread manufacture of woollen rather than worsted cloth in Yorkshire at the time.

wool, as perhaps were one spinner^{1.} and one bleacher. From the linen industry, 13 flax dressers (five from Yorkshire), one (hemp and) flax dresser, two linen dyers and one maker of thread (probably linen) emigrated; and from the silk industry, three silk throwsters and one silk dyer. The early cotton industry was represented only by two calico printers. The 16 emigrant 'dyers', including one colour maker, may have been concerned with several areas of textiles.

In total, 384 heads of families or mature individuals indicated their textile or allied occupations at their ports of departure for America in 1774 and 1775. Of these, 38 stated that they were from Yorkshire: 33 sailed in 1774, but only five the following year.^{2.} New York proved to be the most popular or most convenient destination for 15 Yorkshire heads of families or mature individuals possessing textile skills. In mid-March 1774, the York Packet left Liverpool for New York. Apart from

1. Hidden among the many wives and daughters of farmers and producers of textiles are probably a large number of unnoted spinners.
2. The figure of 38 does not include the one Yorkshire mantle maker, Elizabeth Snell (aged 24), who sailed in the York Packet, March 1774: Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Apr. 1909), 144-46 (week, 14-21 Mar. 1774).

Samuel Hawbridge (aged 40), a mercer, intending to trade, and his wife Jane (39), the other Yorkshiremen aboard possessing textile skills were planning to settle: Richard Gill (40), a flax dresser, his sister Ann (46), his wife Sarah (41), and their two children, Ann (10) and Richard (6); Major Snell (36), a flax dresser, and probably his wife (24) and daughter (1), both named Elizabeth; John Kirby^k (29), yet another flax dresser, his wife Ann (24), and their children, Ann (4), and John (2); Robert Wilson (16), flax dresser; William Appleby (18), weaver; William Hunt (22) weaver; and James Brown (22), weaver, and his wife Mary (25).^{1.} Two months later, three Yorkshire weavers and a tailor sailed for New York in the Cato from Liverpool. John Fenton (21), Thomas Little (22) and Henry Trotter (26), the weavers, intended, respectively, "to trade", "to see his Brother" and "to follow his business". Ellis Featter (or Feather), the tailor (29), was also going "to trade".^{2.}

1. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LX111 (Apr. 1909), 144-46 (week, 14-21 Mar. 1774).

2. Ibid., LX111 (Oct.1909), 353-54 (week, 24-31 May 1774).

In July 1774, the Adventure sailed from Hull for New York carrying John Packer (19), a Yorkshire mercer, "to seek a better livelihood";^{1.} and the following month, the America, sailing the same route, had as one of its passengers, George Waterworth (45), a cloth dresser, who was also hoping to gain "a better livelihood".^{2.} Lastly for New York, Nicholas McIntosh (35), a Yorkshire tailor, sailed from Whitehaven in the Favourite in early summer 1775 "to follow his trade" across the Atlantic.^{3.}

Included in the large contingents of farmers, agricultural labourers and speculators hoping to establish themselves in Nova Scotia in 1774-75 were twelve emigrants who stated they had textile or allied skills, though doubtless many others possessed some knowledge of cloth production. At least two of the latter, like their tenant-farmer compatriots from the North and East Ridings, claimed they were leaving England not only "to seek a better livelihood", but also to escape the recent

1. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIV (Jan. 1910), 24 (week, 10-17 Jul. 1774).
2. Ibid., LXIV (Apr. 1910), 10 (week, 7-14 Aug. 1774).
3. Ibid., LXV (Jul. 1911), 233 (week, 29 May-5 Jun. 1775).

steep rises in rents. The Yorkshire linen weaver¹ sailing from Scarborough may have been affected, as were other workers in North Riding villages, by the poor state of the Darlington linen manufacture just over in Co. Durham.² In early 1774, the Two Friends sailed from Hull for Nova Scotia, carrying two Yorkshire weavers and a tailor. Pickering Snowden (22) was "going to seek a better livelihood", as was John Webster (25), the tailor. John Wr[aly] (23), the second weaver, was emigrating "On account of [his] rents being raised by Will^m. Weddell Esq.^{re} [his] landlord".³ At the beginning of April 1774, five tailors, two weavers and one linen weaver sailed aboard the three vessels, Thomas and William, William and Mary and Prince George.

1. Only one Yorkshire linen weaver is noted leaving for Nova Scotia, but other emigrant "weavers" may have produced linen rather than woollen cloth.
2. "Report from the Committee to Inquire into the Present State of the Linen Trade in Great Britain and Ireland", Reports of Committees of the House of Commons (London, 1803), III (cited by Mildred Campbell, 15).
3. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Jan. 1909), 29-30 (week, 28 Feb. - 7 Mar. 1774).

Nova Scotia-bound from Scarborough. Henry Hutton (21), Thomas Hodgson (38), Robert Mennard (27) and Mathew Webster (33), with his wife and three children, all echoed the refrain, as tailors, that they were "going to seek for better Employ^t." Another tailor, John Johnson (20), had hitherto also had the secondary occupation of tenant farmer, but was emigrating because he had been "obliged to quit, his farm being so highly rented". William Moon (25) and Hugh Peebles (36), weavers, and William Sherwood (21), linen weaver, also joined the departing throng.¹ Lastly, Francis Watson (18), tailor, sailed from Hull to Annapolis, N.S., in the Jenny in the first week of April, 1775.²

Seven Yorkshire emigrants with stated textile or allied skills left for Philadelphia, all in 1774. Archilas Parker, aged only 15, a silk weaver from York, sailed aboard the Minerva from London as an "indentured servant" in the January.³ William Branson (26),

1. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Jul. 1909), 242-44 (week, 5-12 Apr. 1774).
2. Ibid., LXIV (Apr. 1911), 124 (week, 3-10 Apr. 1775).
3. Ibid., LXII (Oct. 1908), 328 (week, 24-30 Jan. 1774).

weaver, and Henry Taylor (24), tailor, joined the complement of the Sam, leaving Liverpool in the early March.¹ In May 1774, four Yorkshire weavers sailed aboard the Boston Packett, also from Liverpool: William Aperskin (45), with his wife Mary (26) and son John (2), Thomas Thornley (42), John Barnstow (42) and John Sutton (19).²

Of some six thousand passengers who left English ports between December 1773 and April 1776 to settle across the Atlantic, about 55 per cent went as indentured servants, due to serve a master for a period of years.³ This substantial proportion, however, was not paralleled by Yorkshire emigrants, either in total⁴ or by those admitting specifically to textile or allied skills. Only four Yorkshire textile workers went out as indentured servants, all sailing from London in 1774 and 1775. Three sailed for

1. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Jan. 1909), 31 (week, 28 Feb. - 7 Mar. 1774).
2. Ibid., LXIII (Oct. 1909), 349 (week, 17-21 May 1774).
3. Mildred Campbell, 4.
4. Some more prosperous Yorkshire emigrant-farmers, especially those bound for Nova Scotia, did, however, pay for the passage of accompanying labourers.

Maryland: William Rouse (17), a cloth weaver from York, was a passenger on the Rebecca in the late summer of 1774;^{1.} Joseph Fellows (39), a Sheffield flax dresser, sailed on the Elkridge in early May 1775;^{2.} and John Hodgson (26), another cloth worker from York, left in the Fortune in July 1775.^{3.} The fourth, Michael Wickers (35), a York woolcomber, sailed from London to Virginia in the Blend in the spring of 1775.^{4.} Fellows, Hodgson and Wickers all sailed as indentured servants for a period of four years, Rouse for an unspecified period.

Between the end of the American Revolution and the War of 1812, there occurred a continuous and at times considerable influx of industrial workers into the United States. The influx did much to carry the American cotton manufacturing industry through the infant factory stage. It also greatly stimulated the manufacture of American woollens and linens, machines, glass, paper, metal wares and other goods. Between 1783 and 1812, the United States experienced many more prosperous than depressed years. Britain, meanwhile, suffered certain

1. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England," LXIV (Apr. 1910), 113 (week, 28 Aug.-4 Sep. 1774).
2. Ibid., LXIV (Apr. 1911), 128 (week, 8-15 May 1775).
3. Ibid., LXV (Jul. 1911), 240 (week, 10-17 Jul. 1775).
4. Ibid., LXIV (Apr. 1911), 120 (week, 27 Mar.-3 Apr. 1775).

periods of moderate to severe depression: the years immediately following the War of Independence and the Irish Rebellion of 1798, and the years 1810-12. British emigrants, moved by reasons of industrial depression at home, were fairly sure of gaining suitable work in industry, trade or agriculture across the Atlantic. Emigrants such as Joe Grimshaw, who sailed to America in 1806 with his wife and ten children, was surely successful in transferring his making of woollen cloth to his country of adoption.¹ The element, traditional in emigration, of one family already established in the new setting writing encouraging reports to the old, thereby persuading other families to follow, no doubt operated at this time, as did that of one member of a family encouraging other members of the same family to follow. But the infant United States presented another "pull" factor to the would-be emigrant from Britain during these years, despite official British restrictions against the emigration of skilled workers.

The dislike of buying British cloths and other goods during the Revolutionary period quickly evolved into the realisation after 1783 that American manufactures must be developed to reduce American reliance upon British imports. Domestic industrialisation seemed to be the answer;

1. H. Heston, "The Industrial Immigrant in the United States, 1783-1812", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 95, 5 (Oct. 1951), 521-22, 527.

and leading advocates, such as Tench(e) Coxe and Mathew Carey, pleaded the case for the establishment of home manufactures. Enthusiastic Societies for "The Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts", or for "Establishing Useful Manufactures" were initiated from New England to Virginia. Coxe and Carey argued that only by borrowing European manufacturing technique could American industrialisation develop to overcome the Old World's superiority. The corollary of the thesis was the immediate need to import skilled workers from Europe, and particularly British workers who had the ability to make or operate (or both) the new machines of England's Industrial Revolution.

A number of attempts were therefore made to import British artisans. George Washington participated in one such attempt in 1789, serving as intermediary between the Governor of Virginia and an English manufacturer who was willing to establish a woollen manufactory in that state. By 1791, however, he had decided to withdraw his support because "it certainly would not carry an aspect very favorable to the dignity of the United States for the President in clandestine manner to entice the subjects of another nation to violate its laws".¹ Alexander Hamilton,

1. Cited by H. Heston, "The Industrial Immigrant in the United States, 1783-1812", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 525; and Maldwyn A. Jones, American Immigration (Chicago, 1960), pp.68-69.

Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, was not to be influenced by such niceties. In his voluminous Report on Manufactures (1791), Hamilton not only proposed a policy of extreme protection for America's 'infant industries', but also recommended strenuous efforts to attract artisans from overseas.^{1.} To this end, as leading promoter of the New Jersey Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures, founded also in 1791, Hamilton sent agents to Scotland in that year to induce framesmiths, stocking weavers and others to work at the Society's National Manufactory at Paterson, N.J.^{2.} The New Jersey Society also discussed the fact that the weaving and spinning operations at the Paterson undertaking were to be managed by a former apprentice of Richard Arkwright, inventor of the spinning frame, and that two brothers from Manchester would supervise the calico-printing.^{3.}

The British government were certainly not unaware of the steady stream of skilled workers evading the law by a variety of ruses and emigrating in response to American inducements. British consul, Phineas Bond, in Philadelphia, and George Hammond, the first British minister to the United States, were both distinctly

1. W. Miller, A New History of the United States, pp.126-27.

2. M.A. Jones, p.69.

3. H. Heaton, "The Industrial Immigrant...", 522.

apprehensive about the American quest for British technicians and artisans. Both officials reported frequently in their despatches that some native- or British-born American had sailed for England to recruit labour in Yorkshire, Lancashire or the Midlands. They revealed the names and geographical origins of Englishmen recently arrived to take up industrial positions of importance, urging surveillance of male relations of these men still in England. They further pressed for the laws forbidding the emigration of skilled workers and the export of machinery to be vigorously enforced.^{1.}

Moreover, George Hammond visited Paterson to observe the situation there at first hand. His apprehension was assuaged somewhat when he discovered that the buildings "appear designed on a scale too extensive for the funds of the Society, the shares of which are at present greatly depreciated, notwithstanding the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Hamilton to support them by the encouragement and assistance he gives the undertaking". Hammond noted the names of Englishmen on the staff, and in particular two of them who "were forced to leave Manchester because they had counterfeited the stamps upon callicoes".

1. H. Heaton, "The Industrial Immigrant...", 520, 522.

Whilst he did not fear competition for some time from the new Peterson factory, he nevertheless urged vigilance upon the British government "to prevent the emigration of artists and the export of models of machines"; and for his own part, he promised to give "unremitting attention" to seeking out the names of the recruiters of labour in England.^{1.}

Phineas Bond was equally worried by "the evil of migration hither", the worst feature being the "decoying" of artisans. From late 1786 (the date Bond became consul) onwards, he was deeply concerned about the influx of British immigrants which he feared was stripping the home country of "many useful and laborious inhabitants". On the one hand, Britain was being disadvantaged by the transfer of artisans and "implements of manufacturing"; on the other, the migration of skilled men so benefited the United States and was "so lucrative to those who are engaged in it that it will be carried on extensively and with great spirit unless speedily corrected". To this end, Bond proposed extensive plans to "restrain for the present and finally annihilate" the emigrant traffic: to limit the number of passengers according to the size of the vessel;

1. Hammond to Grenville, 3 Oct. 1792 (Foreign Office IV, ser. I, vol. 16, 174-76), cited by H. Heston, "The Industrial Immigrant...", 523.

to insist upon the captain's provision of an adequate supply of food and water, with customs' inspection before the vessel's departure; to require at least one surgeon or apothecary to be carried as part of the crew of every emigrant vessel; and to compel the ship's captain to give a bond before departure that he had complied with the regulations relating to food, drink and medical care. Bond believed that the enactment of his suggestions would not only greatly improve the lot of the passenger, but, rather naively, that, because these measures would increase operating costs and lessen the profit, they would also later "effectually abolish this trade".¹ No doubt the British Act of 1803 imposing restraints on the numbers of passengers carried by vessels embodied some of Bond's suggestions, but the Act appears to have presented little problem to those artisans bent on emigration. The United States continued to receive the skilled men needed from Britain: the makers of cloth, shuttles, bobbins and machines to the technicians, supervisors and managers.

1. Bond to Grenville, 16 Nov. 1788 (Foreign Office 1V, ser. I, vol. 6, 661-72), cited by H. Heaton, "The Industrial Immigrant...", 523.

Of little more effect were the laws banning the emigration of skilled workers and the export of machinery from Britain. The ban on the emigration of artisans began with the Act of 1719,¹ which was passed to prevent the activities of "divers ill-disposed persons" who had "of late drawn away and transported...several artificers and manufacturers...out of His Majesty's dominions into foreign countries,"² by entering into contracts with them to give them greater wages than they have or can reasonably expect to have within this kingdom, and by making them large promises and using other arts to inveigle and draw them away". Penalties were prescribed both for artisans attempting to leave the country and for those persuading such workers to do so. A more severe punishment of "persons convicted of seducing artificers" was included in the amending Act of 1750, which remained in force until 1824. The energy applied to the enforcement of the Act seems to have varied from time to time, with a greater emphasis on periods when skilled workers sailed to the new United States after 1783(as well as hitherto to France)and after the outbreak of war with France in 1793. To prevent the loss of "seamen and seafering men", an Order in Council was

1. 5 Geo. I, cap. 27.

2. "Foreign countries" did not include British colonies.

introduced in February 1793. A second Order in Council, of April 1795, applied to "Artificers, Manufacturers, Seamen and Sea-faring Men", and included those sailing under both British and foreign - in essence, American - flags.

Unless special permission were given, no vessel was to be allowed to leave a British port carrying passengers of the above categories of occupation. Even with vigilant customs officials, however, and not all were vigilant all the time, it was almost impossible to detect every skilled worker emigrating. Although the ship's master was required to deliver to the chief customs officer at the British port his sworn statement of the names, ages and occupations of his passengers, his statement was only as truthful as his emigrant artificers or manufacturers wished to make it. The latter simply described themselves as merchants, farmers or labourers. Rarely, it seems, were passengers questioned individually by port officials, and only then on the information of an informer or on special insistence from Whitehall. Even in the case of an artificer suspected of misrepresenting his occupation, the vessel's departure was not delayed once he had been taken

ashore. The passenger could not be held in custody without a magistrate's warrant; and this in turn could not be issued until the magistrate was assured by evidence, under oath, from reliable witnesses that the passenger was indeed a skilled worker about to benefit another country with his expertise. If satisfied, the magistrate could only require the man to appear at the next assizes, time enough for him to quietly leave the country by another vessel or another port. Additionally, many passengers did not leave from the official point of departure, but were taken aboard once the vessel had cleared the port. This was particularly true of passengers putting off from the neighbourhood of Hoylake and the Cheshire coast to climb aboard vessels cleared from Liverpool, but the same practice probably occurred in the case of other ports.^{1.}

The introduction of new manufacturing techniques into the United States, however, required not only skilled immigrants from England and Scotland to superintend and instruct native Americans, but also the import of another vital element of industrialisation - machinery, or at least, machine-making expertise.

1. H. Heston, "The Industrial Immigrant...", 524-26, also citing (526) Bond to Foreign Office, 4 Mar. 1805 (Foreign Office V. ser.II, Vol. 46, 101); Mildred Campbell, 3-4.

As in the case of the emigration of skilled workers, English laws relating to the export of machinery were long-standing, and, except perhaps in the 1780's and 1790's, were equally ineffectual in practice. As early as 1695, the export of the stocking frame was forbidden. In the second half of the eighteenth century, laws were passed in 1750, 1774, 1781, 1782, 1785, 1786 and 1795 to protect the manufacture and prevent the export of textile and metal-working machines. It is significant that most of these laws were introduced after the outbreak of the War of Independence in an attempt to prevent such machines from crossing the Atlantic as well as the English Channel. Restrictions applied not just to the shipment of machines, but also to models, plans and drawings of such machines. Penalties were severe, but evasions in one form or another were not uncommon.¹ Phineas Bond pressed for increased powers for port officials and more drastic punishments.² One Lancashire cotton manufacturer, for instance, sailed from Liverpool for Philadelphia in 1783. His baggage included four crates, ostensibly containing "Queen's Ware" pottery, but in reality, four new spinning machines.

1. S.G. Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society in England, 1815-1885, p.344, notes: "In [1825], though the export of machinery was still subjected to a general prohibition, a system of Board of Trade licensing was adopted, which pushed the regulation further towards nullity".
2. H. Heaton, "The Industrial Immigrant...", 525.

Although the manufacturer was obliged to return from Belfast to Liverpool because of an illness which proved fatal, the machines reached Philadelphia safely for collection by his son.¹ John Lees secretly imported cotton machinery from England in 1804-05, and began the manufacture of cotton goods in Byfield parish, Newbury, Mass.²

It was also obviously possible for a skilled technician or artisan, sailing under the guise of a labourer, to transfer technical or manufacturing expertise by committing plans or drawings to memory. Samuel Slater, renowned for establishing the first cotton factory in America, at Pawtucket, R.I., in 1791, had reached the United States two years earlier with the plans of a spinning jenny committed to memory. He had also had "an oversight of Sir Richard Arkwright's work...upward of eight years".³

1. H. Heaton, "The Industrial Immigrant...", 525.
2. William R. Bagnell, The Textile Industries of the United States, 1639-1810, pp.208-09 .
3. M.A. Jones, p.69; D.C. Somervell, p.103; W. Miller, p.159. Slater's factory, set up to spin cotton for Almy & Brown, merchants of Providence, possessed 72 spindles; nine children were employed under full-time supervision, their pay ranging from 12c to 25c a day. The yarn was then woven into cottoncloth on domestic looms. Slater's factory was the forerunner of hundreds of the same type, mainly in New England, by 1812; and many were operated by the Slater-trained men.

Similarly, the Scholfield brothers, John and Arthur, natives of the Saddleworth area of Yorkshire, emigrated to America, reaching Boston in May 1793.¹ By June, the brothers, together with John Shaw, a spinner and weaver who had accompanied them, had entered into partnership for the manufacture of woollen cloth; and by the beginning of August, John Scholfield, skilled in the use of tools, had completed from memory a hand-loom and spinning jenny. The manufacture of broadcloth was begun at once in a hired house in Charlestown, Boston, and the first product of the loom was sold in late October 1793: 24½ yds. of black broadcloth and 20 yds. of mixed broadcloth for a total of \$28.16s.²

1. John Scholfield's wife and six children were included in the party; Arthur did not marry until Apr. 1801 in Montville, Conn. A younger brother, James, emigrated to Massachusetts later.
2. W.R.Begnell, pp.202-03, 249, 306; A.H. Cole, The American Wool Manufacture, I, p.88; Rowland T.Berthoff, British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1750-1950 (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p.37.

The Scholfield brothers' subsequent career is justly celebrated for their part in the early development of the American wool textile industry. Immediately after their arrival in Boston from Saddleworth, the brothers had introduced themselves as expert woollen manufacturers to Rev. Jedediah Morse.^{1.} Impressed by their success in weaving in a confined Charlestown tenement, and convinced that there was a bright future for the manufacture of broadcloths and other woollens if only sufficient capital investment and a suitable location with water-power were available, Morse recommended their interests and ability to William Bartlet(t), wealthy merchant of Newburyport, Mass. The enterprising Bartlett invited the Scholfields to start a woollen factory, using improved machinery to be constructed under their supervision. Taking their loom and spinning jenny constructed earlier, the brothers reached Newburyport in December 1793, and at once built an experimental, one-cylinder, hand-operated carding machine which worked sufficiently well to excite hopes of success. A company of some thirty merchants and prominent residents of the Newburyport area was organised; and a Massachusetts Act of January 1794 granted the company a charter as "The Proprietors of the Newburyport Woollen Manufactory", with authorised capital of \$90,000 real and personal estate.

1. Rev. Jedediah Morse: Minister of First Congregational Church, Boston; author of Morse's Geography and Gazetteer; father of Samuel Morse, inventor of magnetic telegraph.

A site for the Newburyport Woolen Manufactory was secured on the Parker River, in Byfield parish, about five miles from Newburyport. Six acres of land were purchased in March 1794 for \$450, and the erection of a mill, 100 ft. by 40 ft., three stories high, was begun. Machinery was built under the direction of the brothers, who until October 1794 and the completion of the factory, continued to produce woollen cloths on their own account in Newburyport. The new factory contained the loom and spinning jenny, the single-cylinder carding machine, two two-cylinder carding machines and other machines, probably for carding, of unknown type. The operations of the Byfield factory were superintended by the Scholfields for nearly five years. The machinery installed proved totally satisfactory; and a new era in American wool manufacture opened with the introduction of the water-powered wool-carding machine. The commercial side of the enterprise, however, proved less successful, and the combination of English exports and lack of American protection failed to realise anticipated profits for the company's investors. The Scholfields sold their interest in the spring of 1799 and moved to Montville, Conn.

On one of his earlier trips to Connecticut and Rhode Island to purchase wool for the Newburyport Woollen Manufactory, John Scholfield had inspected a water-privilege in Montville, Conn., and in April 1798, the land and water-privilege of about 17 acres, "with a dwelling house and blacksmith's shop thereon", was leased to them for fourteen years. A factory was erected, and the first woollen machinery to be powered by water in Connecticut was set up.^{1.} One of the machines used at the factory was a carding machine imported from England, used first at the Byfield factory, and then transferred to Montville. The machine, incorporating English improvements to date, probably served as the model for carding machines, built for several years by Arthur Scholfield after his removal to Pittsfield, Mass., and operated in New England and eastern New York State. The business of the small Montville enterprise was the carding of wool rolls for local customers and the Scholfields themselves, and the spinning of woollen yarns (by jennies) and the weaving of woollen cloth (by hand - or foot-powered looms). The two brothers appear to have worked harmoniously at Montville until 1801, when, reputedly as a result of Arthur's

1. Except for the carding machinery set up, 1788-94, by the Hartford Woollen Manufactory (Von Bergen & Mauersberger, pp.6-7; W.R. Bagnall, p.248).

marriage and John's disapproval of the match, the partnership was dissolved. Arthur and his wife Amy (née Croft) moved to Pittsfield, western Massachusetts, at the same time buying a half-share in brother James's purchase in North Andover, Mass., in 1802.¹

After the dissolution of the partnership in 1801, John Scholfield continued at Montville carding wool and manufacturing cloth under his own management until 1806. In that year he moved to Stonington, Conn., establishing there a similar industry on a nine-acre lot of land, bought for \$1,440, on the Pawcatuck River. Meanwhile, James and Thomas Scholfield, John's sons, remained in charge of the Montville concern until the expiry of the lease there in 1812. The lot at Stonington included an oil-mill, in which John set up woollen machinery; and at the same time he erected a small adjoining factory, 40 ft. by 30 ft., two stories high. The machinery in the two buildings consisted of two double carding machines, two spinning jennies (of 50 and 40 spindles, respectively) and a billy (of 30 spindles). The jennies and billy were hand-operated, the carding machines water-powered. The woollen yarns so spun were woven outside the factory, partly for John and partly by other customers.

1. James Scholfield, a younger brother, emigrated from Saddleworth somewhat later than Arthur and John. He was associated with them at Byfield in the mill of the Newburyport Woollen Manufactory, but only as an operative or employee, and was probably sent for by his brothers as soon as his services were needed. About the same time that Arthur and John moved to Connecticut, James moved to Haverhill, Mass.

When the Montville, Conn., lease expired in 1812, John Scholfield returned there to settle up business; and Joseph, another son, supervised the Stonington mill. John Scholfield established further woollen industries in another part of Montville, about four miles higher up the Oxoboxo River from the original lease and mill, and at Waterford, about three miles west of New London, Conn. The Stonington concern continued successfully until 1831, when the mill and land were sold. John Scholfield's eldest son, John, who had been previously engaged in wool carding in Colchester, Conn., established a business of the same type in Jewett City, Conn., in the spring of 1807; he was there until 1817, when he returned to Colchester, removing to Montville to take charge of the Scholfield mills there on the death of his father about 1819-20.

1. W.R. Bagnall, pp.202-04, 207-09, 247-49, 262-63, 423-24, 457-59; A.H. Cole, I, pp.83, 88-89, 91.

As already noted, Arthur Scholfield moved with his new wife from Montville, Conn., to Pittsfield, Mass., in mid-1801. There, in a factory on the west bank of the Housatonic River, already erected for cutting and finishing stone, and by 1801, including other miscellaneous industries, Arthur introduced a carding machine and advertised his activities in the Pittsfield Sun. He informed potential customers that "....he has a carding-machine,...where they may have their wool carded into rolls for twelve and a half cents per pound; mixed for fifteen and half cents per pound. If they find the grease, and pick, and grease it, it will be ten cents per pound, and twelve and a half cents mixed..."¹. The following year: "ARTHUR SCHOLFIELD....picks, greases and cards wool into Roles on the following terms,

1. Pittsfield Sun, 2 Nov. 1801.

viz: nine pence for one colour and eleven pence for mixed, per pound. The wool is to be sorted and clipped, if necessary, and all the dung, burs, briers, sticks, and other trash picked out. If that is not taken out, I shall charge one penny per lb. more. No abatement for wool that is greased, as he makes use of nothing but good oil, and that at his own expence...."¹.

At first, as seen from the advertisements, Arthur Scholfield's early business in Pittsfield was concerned simply with carding wool, but about 1804, he began making grey mixed broadcloth, charging from 40c. to 60c. a yard. In 1808, Scholfield manufactured thirteen yards of black broadcloth, made from the newly introduced merino wool, for presentation to James Madison for his inaugural suit. Moreover, during the winter-spring of 1803-04, Scholfield began to manufacture carding machines. He was still carding customers' wool, but he "has carding machines for sale, built under his immediate inspection, upon a new and improved plan, which he is determined to sell on the most liberal terms, and will give drafts and other instructions to those who wish to build, themselves...."².

1. Pittsfield Sun, 8 May 1802.

2. Ibid., 12 May 1804.

In 1806, Scholfield disposed of his machines in the Pittsfield factory and his carding-wool business to the owner of the factory, Alexander Ely, and to Elisha Ely.¹ Two years later, Scholfield restarted the business of carding wool, and further engaged in spinning woollen yarns and weaving woollen cloth in a building erected on land bought on the west bank of the Housatonic River, not far from Ely's factory. The spinning jennies and looms employed were probably made by him, but none was water-powered; and at the time, Scholfield was probably not manufacturing carding and other machines, but was engaging again in carding, spinning and weaving, for the reasons implied in the following letter.

"You say you hardly know", Arthur wrote to his brother in 1808, "how you are doing for there is an Imbargo laid last Dec'r [1807] , and it still continues - the Imbargo is here too, and is likely to stay for what I can see. It had swindled me out of about 1500 dollars - for besides what I shall loose by failures I have 22 Machines on hand besides Pickers - they were all ingaged last summer [1807], and if times had not turned, should have had the money for them now. If I had left Buisiness the spring before last it would have been to my interest

1. Pittsfield Sun, 26 May, 7 Jun. 1806.

but at that time the Imbargo was not thought of, except by King Jefferson and his party, and as they cant do rong we must put [up] with it".^{1.}

Scholfield's carding, therefore, was probably limited to that required for his own cloth manufacture.

In late 1808, however, Arthur Scholfield, in association with merchants and other prominent residents of Pittsfield, entered into a scheme for the establishment of - by contemporary standards - a large-scale woollen manufactory. Encouragement had been given to the venture by the introduction into Pittsfield about 1808 of a number of pure Spanish merino rams and ewes by Elkanah Watson.^{2.} The use of this "finer species of wool" promised much for the future, particularly "when it is considered how much the manufacture is facilitated by the introduction of the carding machines now in general use, and by the new constructed spinning jennies, lately made by the ingenious Mr. Scholfield of [Pittsfield]. These machines go with from 20 to 30 spindles, on which a single woman can easily spin from 20 to 30 runs of fine yarn per day in the best manner. A few of them are already in very

1. Arthur to John Scholfield, 11 Jul. 1808 (cited by W.R. Bagnall, pp.262-63).
2. Elkanah Watson was a wealthy retired New York merchant who bought a large estate at Pittsfield; founder of Berkshire Agricultural Society, organised September 1809.

successful operation in this vicinity and can be conveniently worked in any private family. The cost of them is about fifty dollars, and one is sufficient to do the spinning for a number of families....a number of pieces have this year been made and finished in this town, which sell readily for three dollars per yard, three quarters wide, and which are in every point equal to foreign broadcloth which costs eight dollars... [Arthur Scholfield] is now engaged in getting into operation a manufactory for fine cloths, which, there is no doubt, will succeed with equal advantage to the undertakers and the public".^{1.} The hopes for the venture were justifiably sanguine. By early 1810, it appears that Arthur Scholfield had resumed the business of carding wool for customers, for Alexander Ely had closed his in the Pittsfield factory. In that location, Scholfield advertised in May 1810 that he would "carry on the carding business that season", and that he required "three good experienced workmen in the spinning and weaving line".^{2.}

1. Pittsfield Sun, 18 Nov. 1809.

2. Ibid., 9 May 1810.

Arthur Scholfield shared in the general prosperity of woollen and cotton manufacturing throughout New England between 1809 and the end of the Anglo-American War. In the spring of 1814, he was second largest subscriber to the Pittsfield Woollen and Cotton Factory's capital stock, with twenty shares at \$1,000 each. With the end of hostilities, however, Arthur Scholfield lost heavily with the depreciation in value of domestic goods, caused in part by the renewed influx of British manufactures. Scholfield's situation was by no means unique amongst the domestic textile manufacturers of New England and the Middle States, but in his case, it meant entire cessation of business.¹

After the collapse of Arthur Scholfield's business fortunes, he barely re-entered the limelight. Like his brother John, he was passing through hard times. In April 1818, Arthur sadly requested his brother's "opinion and advice...[about applying] to Congress by a petition, as we were the first that introduced the woollen business by machinery into this country; and should that plan be adopted, I

1. Pittsfield Sun, 28 Dec. 1815, 11 Jan. 1816.

have but little hopes of success, but then if it does no good, it wont doo any harm". Arthur's pessimism was well founded, and by early 1819, he had given up the idea of applying "to Congress...., for I am of your opinion that it wont succeed, but I think 't is best to drop it....."¹.

Arthur Scholfield's "House and Lot, Barn and Shop" were advertised for sale in March 1819;² but he lived on in Pittsfield, no doubt in difficult circumstances, until 27th March 1827, when he died at the age of about 70.³

The American career of James Scholfield was overshadowed by those of his brothers, Arthur and John. About the same time (early 1799) that the brothers moved from Massachusetts to Connecticut, James removed from Byfield to nearby Haverhill, Mass., where he stayed two or three years on unknown business. In the summer of 1802, James Scholfield moved again a short distance, this time to

1. cited by W.R. Bagnall, p.266.

2. Pittsfield Sun, 9 Mar. 1819.

3. W.R. Bagnall, pp.202-04, 207-09, 247-49, 258-67, 306-09 (including extracts from Pittsfield Sun, 1801-19); A.H.Cole, I, pp. 83, 88-89, 107-10, 113-14, 122-23, 220-21, 234; Von Bergen & Mauersberger, pp.9, 11.

North Andover, Mass., where he purchased a small lot, with mill-privilege, dam and fulling-mill, near the north of the Cochicawick River for \$120.¹

James erected a small building for his carding machine, to be water-powered. Part of his nearby house, a one-storey building of about 40ft. by 12 ft., contained spinning-jacks and looms, all operated by the hand - or foot-power of his family. Broadcloth was manufactured; and wool was carded both for himself and many customers. The enterprise does not appear to have brought financial fortune, for in April 1812, James and Arthur sold their half-interests to two Andover residents. In 1813, James Scholfield became superintendent of a newly erected factory belonging to Capt. Nathaniel Stevens (1786-1865), two miles higher up the Cochicawick River in North Andover. Stevens was the first to introduce American-made flannels into the market, and despite great commercial difficulties, was successful in his venture.²

Not all British textile emigrants to America, of course, achieved the fame accorded Samuel Slater in the early cotton-manufacturing, or the Scholfields in the early woollen-manufacturing industries. In general,

1. W.R. Bagnall, pp.306-09; D. Hamilton Hurd, History of Essex County, Massachusetts (2 vols., Philadelphia, Pa., 1888), II, pp.1684-85; Von Bergen & Mauersberger, pp.9, 11.

2. W.R. Bagnall, pp.308-09; D.H. Hurd, II, p.1685.

textile emigrants from Yorkshire, Scotland and the West Country who reached the United States during the last two decades of the eighteenth century manufactured woollen cloths within the household and handicraft system. Nevertheless, their arrival coincided with the early transitional stages of development from the household system to that of the small factory. Col. Jeremiah Wedsworth's enterprise, the Hartford Woollen Company, begun at Hartford, Conn., in 1788, was followed by three more attempts in Massachusetts, at Stockbridge in 1789, at Watertown in 1790 and at Ipswich in 1792. The last, the Massachusetts Woollen Manufactory, encouraged by town and state, produced broadcloth, blankets and flannels. The manufactories failed for a variety or combination of reasons; the poor quality of the wool supply, competition from British woollens, under-capitalisation, lack of skilled labour and supervision, and domestic machinery of unsatisfactory performance.

From the 1790's onwards, however, British textile immigrants to the United States, whilst retaining their traditional domestic skills

of spinning and weaving, witnessed, participated in, or indeed initiated the remarkable advance in technical equipment and knowledge in the American woollen manufacturing industry. The contributions of Bourne, Arkwright and Hargreaves to the gradual change from carding by hand to carding by power between 1748 and about 1790 were introduced into America by the Scholfields of Saddleworth after 1793. The Scholfields' immense influence on the American woollen scene lay in the brothers and sons of the family establishing small factories in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and, by their example, encouraging others to do likewise. Arthur Scholfield built carding machines for others from 1804 onwards, picking machines from 1806, and spinning jennies from 1809; and the first spinning jack, transitional in development between the jenny and the mule, was set up by James Scholfield at North Andover, Mass., about 1802.¹

1. Von Bergen & Mauersberger, pp.6-9, 11, 21; S.G. Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society..., pp.78, 81, 87. The self-acting cotton mule, invented in England by Richard Roberts in 1825, became the model upon which most power-driven spinning machines were based.

In New York State, a factory for making superfine broadcloths was established in 1811 at Ballston, north-west of Albany, by a resident group, encouraged by the closure of the American market to British goods by non-importation legislation between 1808 and February 1811, and by the recent import of the merino sheep from Spain and Portugal. In order to turn the fine wool into the best grade of fabric, the group explored the West of England and finally engaged Richard Lowe, of Gloucestershire, to manage their plant. Lowe reached Ballston in mid-1811 on a one year's contract, soon to be extended for another year for the excellence of his work. During the period of Anglo-American hostilities, Lowe's employers, undoubtedly misreading the State Department order,¹ requiring all alien enemies living within forty miles of the tidewater to obtain passports for their removal beyond the forty-mile limit to a place "designated by the marshals", petitioned Secretary Monroe that Lowe "is an artist in all branches of the superfine woolen manufacture and therefore a great acquisition to the American Nation.... He is a mechanic, artist, and in many respects a man of science. His knowledge in these fields has induced me [the company's president], together with one or two others, to put our children apprentices to him in order to learn the

1. February 1813.

business in the most perfect and extensive manner he is capable of teaching it...." Lowe continued in his post.^{1.}

About the same time, immigrants from Yorkshire settled on the east bank of the Hudson around Poughkeepsie and Fishkill, or to the west and north-west of Albany. In these areas, they developed a large-scale woollen-cloth production, employing the new spinning machinery.^{2.} After 1815, the Poughkeepsie area of Dutchess County, N.Y., in particular, attracted many others from Yorkshire. J. Wadsworth, probably a native of Huddersfield, seems to have emigrated to the United States in the early 1820's and was soon the owner of a woollen factory in Poughkeepsie, where beginning in 1826, he manufactured broadcloths and cassimeres. Others from the Huddersfield area followed him there as employees or as visitors on their way to other textile employment in Massachusetts, Connecticut or

1. H. Heston, "The Industrial Immigrant...", 523-24.

2. Ibid.

up-state New York.^{1.}

Shortly after the outbreak of the Anglo-American war in June 1812, the State Department required all male 'alien enemies' over the age of fourteen to register with the marshal of the state in which they resided, giving full details of their families, length of residence, and occupation, and stating what steps, if any, they had taken towards naturalisation as U.S. citizens. The efficacy of the records gained varied from state to state: the Massachusetts register was completed in great detail; those for Connecticut and New Hampshire have been lost; and in the case of Pennsylvania, whilst the total count is known, the details revealed by two-thirds of the 'alien enemies' in that state are missing. In all, some ten thousand men and youths reported their whereabouts to the relevant marshals and their deputies.

1. J. Wadsworth, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., to Wm. Rawcliff, Oldfield, Honley, nr. Huddersfield, 7 Mar. 1828; Joseph Hollingworth, South Leicester, Mass., to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 21 Sep., 7 Dec. 1828, 8 Feb.-7 Mar. 1829, and c/o Jonathan Hirst, "Wadsworth's Factory, Poughkeepsie", 6 Sep., 7 Nov. 1829; George Hollingworth, South Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 21-29 Oct. 1829; Jabez, George & Joseph Hollingworth, South Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 15, 17 Jan. 1830; Joseph Haigh, Pittsburgh, Pa., to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 8 Jul. 1830; Joseph Hollingworth, Woodstock, Conn., to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 17 Jul. 1831; Jabez Hollingworth, Sturbridge, Mass., to Wm. Rawcliff, High Falls, Rosendale, Ulster Co., N.Y., or Liberty, Sullivan Co., N.Y., 7 Oct. 1832 (Thomas W. Leavitt, ed., The Hollingworth Letters: Technical Change in the Textile Industry, 1826-1837, pp. 19-20, 32, 34, 37, 40, 42, 45, 52-53, 55-56, 86, 99, 106).

Of the total, one-third lived in New York State, one-fifth in Pennsylvania and one-tenth in Massachusetts. A survey of the records is particularly valuable in that the considerable, though incomplete, listing of occupations of the 'alien enemy' men and youths reflects their contribution to the American economy in at least the first decade of the nineteenth century and at the outbreak of war in 1812.¹

The occupations of about 7,500 men and youths are noted in the lists compiled by the marshals. Five categories of occupation cover 65 per cent (or 4,850) of the total. The largest category, of 'farmers, planters and gardeners', accounts for 21 per cent (or 1,600), of the total, 'textile workers and textile machine makers' for 14 per cent (or 1,000), 'merchants, their clerks and book-keepers' for 11 per cent (or 800), 'laborers of all kinds' for 10 per cent (or 750), and 'building workers and woodworkers' for 9 per cent (or 700). Apart from

1. H. Heaton, "The Industrial Immigrant....", 520-21.

fifty 'gentlemen', some obviously 'remittance men', every conceivable type of occupation occurs outside the above five categories.

The second largest group - the 'textile workers and textile machine makers' - represented about one in seven of the total noted in the marshals' lists. In Delaware, New Jersey, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, they formed the largest occupational group, and in New York and Maryland, the second largest. Assuredly in Massachusetts, where 'laborers' formed nearly one-quarter of the alien registration, the relative paucity of the textile group was more than outweighed by their influence, especially as 'textile machine makers', or by their example, as initiators of small manufactories, in the early stages of the industrialisation of the American textile industry. Moreover, the numerical importance of the 'alien enemy' textile group in Connecticut and New Hampshire has been lost by the lack of marshals' records for those states.

It may also be surmised that among the largest group of registered aliens - the farming class - a proportion possessed some knowledge of hand-loom weaving. Whilst many were Irish or Scots, a not insignificant number of such settlers had

emigrated from England and Wales. They did not fall into the poverty-stricken indentured servant or redemptioner class, but in the main were immigrants who, having paid for their transatlantic passage, were still sufficiently affluent to move inland to take up land in the semi-'frontier' areas. It is possible, for instance, that some Yorkshire farmers with knowledge of weaving sailed for North America in the mid-1790s having been persuaded by the glowing offers of land for sale by Hull agents. Good land was to be purchased, the advertisements declared, in the Success, Percy, Stratford, Fairfield and Grafton townships of New Hampshire; in several tracts of western Vermont; in areas adjoining Lake Ontario near the upper Hudson and Mohawk Rivers in New York State;¹ and vast acreages in Virginia and Georgia,

1. One parcel of land near the Mohawk was "remarkably well adapted for the establishment of manufactories of all kinds".

especially near Savannah.^{1.}

Within the actual group of 'textile workers', it is certain that many of the aliens registered were hand-loom weavers, either ignorant of, or as yet unaffected by the new manufacturing techniques in textiles. This would be particularly true of the Irishmen emigrating at the turn of the century, and of others to a lesser extent. But more important from the standpoint of early American textile industrialisation were the large numbers who had left Lancashire and Lanarkshire, Yorkshire and the West of England, with the knowledge of Hargreaves' spinning jenny, Arkwright's water-frame and Crompton's mule. In mills driven by water-power in their adopted country, these men were weaving, dyeing and finishing woollens or pattern-printing on calico. Perhaps most important, they were superintending and instructing native Americans in the new techniques of textile manufacturing.^{2.}

1. Hull Advertiser, 3 Jan. 1795. "These Estates", the Hull agents, Taylor and Markham, observed, "are particularly worth the attention of persons uniting together in order to make large purchases, a method which is found to be remarkably advantageous, as in that case a large settlement can be formed, and the land be brought into condition at a much smaller expence..." Somewhat earlier, however, the results of the German settlement of the Pulteney estate in western New York, and the outcome of the Scioto venture for French settlers at Gallipolis on the Ohio River, 1790-92, could hardly be considered encouraging (M.A. Jones, p.70).
2. H. Heaton, "The Industrial Immigrant...", 520-21; M.A. Jones, p.69.

(b) HANDLOOM WEAVERS, SPINNERS & OPERATIVES, 1814-60.

The emigration of Yorkshire textile workers to the United States between the end of the Anglo-American and Napoleonic Wars and 1860 was interwoven with periods of industrial depression and, to a lesser extent, with the displacement by machinery of hand skills at home, and the 'pull' factors of anticipated prosperity and developing industrialisation in American textiles. The generally depressed periods in Yorkshire and elsewhere of 1815-22, 1825-33, and the 1840's were undoubtedly conducive to quests for an alternative residence across the Atlantic, where many, though not all, reported that life was more abundantly pleasant.¹ Particularly during the 1840's and 1850's, emigration societies, flourishing temporarily, and regional or even local in character, public subscriptions and occasionally the more benevolent of the large manufacturers, assisted or encouraged West Riding textile workers and others to emigrate to the United States. By contrast, pleas for assistance to local or central authority usually encountered prevarication or downright refusal.

1. G. Poulett Scrope, Extracts of Letters from Poor Persons Who Emigrated Last Year to Canada and the United States (2nd ed., London, 1832), passim.

An early example of the last occurred in Leeds in May 1819. After months of total or partial unemployment, a deputation of cloth dressers confronted the Mayor to state they possessed "a list of 150 Cloth-Dressers, who had come to the resolution of emigrating to British North America, provided they could be assisted with the means of removing themselves and families, amounting to 577 persons....." The deputation was asked to return a few days later "with a more particular statement with respect to their families", and the probable amount of money each could raise. The Mayor submitted the proposals to the Workhouse Committee, adding the Cape of Good Hope as a possible alternative or additional destination to Canada. The Committee, however, after due consideration, "declined advancing any money from their funds,... thinking the proposed plan was not likely to promote the object they had in view".¹ Contemporary press rumours that "twenty-six persons of the family of Thistlethwaite" of Leeds had left for the United States "with an intention of carrying on the woollen-manufacture in Philadelphia, or its neighbourhood", were discounted. In fact, only one

1. Leeds Intelligencer, 17, 24 May 1819;
Yorkshire Gazette, 22, 29 May 1819.

member of the family, aged 17, had set out, according to one report.^{1.}

Just as it would be "an over-simplification to ascribe the cause of the debasement of the weavers' conditions to the power-loom",^{2.} so it would be an overstatement to infer a self-evident relationship between the introduction of machinery into the traditional Yorkshire occupations of spinning and weaving wool, and emigration to North America, especially the United States. Because the slow mechanisation of the spinning and weaving processes, as well as lagging two decades or more behind the changes in cotton, involved the hand worker in a protracted and insidious decline, it provoked a less immediate response to the likely advantages of emigration, unless the worker's position was suddenly made even more precarious by local or personal circumstances, or by a period of general industrial depression. Total or partial unemployment, or reduced wages, could of course apply equally to the factory worker. Emigration, however, was uppermost in the minds of those seeking a solution to the despair caused by the rapid introduction of the combing machine into the worsted branches of the

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 8 May 1819.

2. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, p.279.

industry in the 1840's and 1850's.^{1.}

Though already well documented elsewhere, it is appropriate at this point to trace the introduction of mechanisation into the Yorkshire woollen and worsted industries. The revolution in spinning in both sectors came later than in cotton, which as an upstart industry more readily adopted the new techniques. In West Yorkshire, the worsted industry, also relatively new as a considerable manufacture and with a more capitalist organisation than the woollen industry, adopted power-spinning earlier though by no means hurriedly. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, spinning frames were introduced into a few water-driven mills in the West Riding worsted district: the first at Addingham in Wharfedale in 1787, was followed by others at Leeming, Hewenden, Ilkley, Mytholmroyd, Luddenden and Stansfield. Most of the earlier mills employing the water-frame were sited in rural localities. In the case of Bradford, however, the weak driving power of the Bradford Beck encouraged initiators to turn early to steam power. In 1793, a proposal to build a steam-driven mill failed on the ground that the mill chimney would be a public nuisance; and in 1799, the proprietor of Bradford's first worsted mill had to

1. The situation of the hand woolcombers, especially in Bradford, is considered in detail in Part 3, 2(c), pp. 988-1077.

literally fight his way to the building site.^{1.}

Nevertheless, by 1810, there were five worsted-spinning mills in Bradford, by 1820, 20, and by 1833, 34, their power based upon local coal deposits.

By 1820, Bradford worsted spinning had become fully mechanised.^{2.} In Yorkshire as a whole, however,

the application of power to spinning was very variable, for, as one writer has stated: "Throughout the early nineteenth century, the West Riding could show side by side cotton mills spinning with Crompton's mule,^{3.} and worsted-spinners using Arkwright's water-frame or throstle (named according as it was driven by water or steam power), whilst the woollen industry retained the hand jenny of Hargreaves both in cottage and factory."^{4.}

1. W. Smith, An Economic Geography of Great Britain, pp.102-04; E.M. Sigsworth, "Bradford on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution", B.T.S.J. (1953-54), 62-63.

2. E.M. Sigsworth, "Bradford and its Worsted Industry under Victoria (1837-1901)", B.T.S.J. (1952-53), 63.

3. Located mainly in the Calder Valley.

4. W.B. Crump (ed.), The Leeds Woollen Industry.1780-1820 (Thoresby Soc., 1929), p.25, cited by W. Smith, p.104. The power-driven mule seems to have been introduced into West Yorkshire woollen-spinning, however, before West of England.

Changes in weaving occurred somewhat later than those in spinning, both in the manufacture of cotton and wool. John Kay's invention of the wheel shuttle or fly shuttle in 1733 enabled speedier cloth production on the hand-loom. The power-loom, however, was a much later invention. Edmund Cartwright's loom, devised in 1784 and patented in 1785, was followed by the really successful Horrocks loom, introduced in 1803 and improved by successive patents in 1805, 1813 and 1821. Henceforth, the cotton industry acquired greatly increasing numbers of power-loom¹.

The power-loom entered the worsted and woollen industries later than the cotton. Although Cartwright's power-loom had been devised in 1784, it was not until some fifty years later that power-loom weaving began to seriously erode the skills of hand-loom weavers in the worsted industry. The power-loom's slow rate of progress in this sector may be attributed not only to mechanical imperfections, but also to the resistance of the weavers themselves. The attempt to introduce a power-loom into the worsted industry in 1822, by James Swarbrick of Shipley, near Bradford, ended in the loom's

1. W. Smith, pp.104-08.

destruction by a mob.¹ In June 1825, some twenty thousand weavers and woolcombers began a twenty-three weeks' strike in Bradford, ending in total defeat for the strikers.² During the struggle, the manufacturers claimed that "there is a powerful competition between hand and power weaving progressively increasing in Bradford".³ Moreover, the strikers were warned that "...the wit of the mechanic is sharpened and the impatience of the master manufacturer excited to supersede the necessity for manual labour by the general and sudden introduction of machines".⁴ Even so, no speedy fulfilment of the forecast occurred. In 1836, as compared with 108, 210 power-loom weavers cotton, only 5,127 power-loom weavers wool, and of the latter about 74 per cent were located in Yorkshire and about 59 per cent were in worsted factories, all in Yorkshire.⁵ Thereafter, however, the number of power-loom weavers in the worsted industry rose steadily: to 11,458 in 1841, to 16,870 in 1844, and to 29,539 by 1850.⁶

1. W. Smith, pp.108-110; E. Lipson, The History of the English Woollen and Worsted Industries (1921), p.187; E.M. Sigsworth, "The End of Hand-Loom Weaving", B.T.S.J. (1957-58), 69, and Black Dyke Mills....., pp. 9-10.

2. E.P. Thompson, p.282.

3. Leeds Mercury, 13 Aug. 1825.

4. Ibid., 23 Jul. 1825.

5. W. Smith, p.110.

6. E.M. Sigsworth, "The End of Hand-loom Weaving", 70.

As in cotton, the introduction of the power-loom was only one cause of the debasement of the hand-loom weavers' conditions. Even in 1806, when the domestic system still commanded the woollen industry, "little makers" were on the decrease and "many which were masters' houses are now workmen's houses"; and merchant-manufacturers, such as Benjamin Gott in Leeds, were putting a number of hand-loom in unpowered 'factories'. Even before the use of power, hand-loom 'factories' were offending small masters, journeymen and moral prejudices alike.^{1.}

Moreover, the gradual decline in the money wages of the hand-loom weavers from the end of the Napoleonic Wars onwards may well have retarded the introduction of worsted power-loom. At the end of the Wars, the average gross weekly wage for a full week's work by a hard-working hand-loom weaver was reportedly 31s.6d. By 1821-24, it fell to between 21s. and 25s. After 1825, further wage reductions were reluctantly accepted to compete with the power-loom, and by 1829, the average gross weekly wage was 20s., by 1833, 17s., and 1838, 12s. 6d. Many hand-loom weavers were, however, earning considerably less than the average, as little as 9s. 2d. gross in 1838.^{2.} Hand-loom

1. E.P. Thompson, p.281.

2. E.M. Sigsworth, "The End of Hand-loom Weaving", 70.

weavers' wages not only fell, but in times of industrial depression, these men were the first to be laid off. When no further work was available, weaving was closed to them, for women and girls in the main performed the role of power-loom operators in the mills. A displaced hand-loom weaver with several female members of working age in his family could perhaps be supported - with some sapping of his moral fibre - but others were not so semi-fortunate. Some joined the ranks of the woolcombers, whose position by the 1840's was in turn becoming rapidly undermined by the machine;¹ and others worked in local quarries. Yet others emigrated.²

Although gradually declining wages may have helped to delay the introduction of the power-loom into the worsted industry, from the mid-1830's the onward march of the machine was relentless. Nevertheless, this transitional period from hand - to power-loom was protracted, and its influence highly variable upon local society. In 1838, there were still about 14,000 hand-loom in the West Riding worsted industry, but with proportionately more power-loom nearer the

1. See also Part 3, 2 (c), pp.968-1077.

2. E.M. Sigsworth, "The End of Hand-Loom Weaving", 71.

centre of Bradford. In Bradford, Willet, Oxley & Co. employed 100 each of hand-loom and power-loom, T. Willet & Co., 100 power-loom and 500 hand-loom weavers, and John Milner, 12 power-loom and 50-70 hand-loom.^{1.}

On the other hand, in the townships and villages to the west and south-west of Bradford, some manufacturers by 1838 had barely acknowledged the advent of the power-loom. George and Robert Leach of Thornton between them employed "many hundreds of hand-loom weavers", though, as Robert Leach realised, "the power-loom manufacturers would eventually be able to drive us out of the market".^{2.} By 1852, this had indeed come to pass in Thornton where there had been a "recent erection of two very extensive factories", belonging to Craven & Harrop and Joshua Craven & Son, worsted manufacturers. "Formerly", the report ran, "a great many small hand-loom manufacturers were to be found here; but that powerful competitor-steam, has 'robbed them of their avocation'. There is a solitary one to be found, here and there, in this immediate neighbourhood, reminding you of

1. E.M. Sigsworth, "The End of Hand-loom Weaving", 70-71; and E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills....p.35.

2. E.M. Sigsworth, "The End of Hand-loom Weaving", 70.

the 'primitive race' which is well nigh defunct..."¹. The picture at Wilsden and Denholme in 1852 was similar. At the former township, "There are several large mills erected of late years employing a considerable number of the population. There are also some hand-loom weavers residing here, employed by Bradford manufacturers..."². At Denholme, where the mill was occupied by William & Henry Foster, "a considerable number of hands [are employed] , both in the manufactory and out of it. There are a few hand-loom weavers....., employed by various masters..."³. Similarly, at Clayton, three miles west of Bradford, the "recently erected" factory belonging to John Milner & Co. employed "a large number of hands, and is indeed a boon to the inhabitants, a portion of whom are still engaged in hand-loom weaving".⁴.

Different transitional stages were, however, illustrated by Allerton and Clayton Heights, Queenshead (later Queensbury). Indeed, as one local

1. Collinson & Co., West Riding of Yorkshire, Leicestershire and Norwich Woollen and Worsted Directory (Bradford, 1852), p.309. At Thornton, the population in 1851 was 8,051, an increase of 1,263 over 1841.
2. Collinson & Co., West Riding of Yorkshire.....Directory pp.306-07. Wilsden's population in 1851 was 3,454, an increase of 770 over 1841.
3. Ibid., p.310.
4. Ibid., p.311.

historian recorded later, "the great time for hand-combing and weaving in Allerton was from 1830 to 1850. Twice a week two large loads of moreens¹ were despatched to Bradford, while some dozen at least of small manufacturers in Allerton also made weekly contributions. In 1845 Allerton numbered about 120 hand-loom weavers..."². Even in 1852, although Allerton by then possessed a large mill occupied by Uriah Ackroyd and Jeremish Robertshaw, "The manufacture of moreens by hand-loom labour is carried on to a pretty considerable extent..., not less than upwards of one thousand pieces being made weekly by the small hand-loom manufacturers, who carry on their business in the true 'primitive style'". Titus (later Sir Titus) Salt also employed "a large quantity of hand-loom weavers" in Allerton. Significantly, it was noted that "A stranger entering this village³ on a fine day,

1. Moreen was a stout woollen or wool-cotton stuff used especially for curtains. The origin of the word is doubtful, but is perhaps derived from the Spanish 'moreno' (=brown, tawny) or 'moro' (=Moorish). By coincidence, the Spanish 'morenillo' is a black powder to heal the wounds of sheep. The early 'merino' sheep was a native of Spain and North Africa.
2. W. Cudworth, Manningham, Heaton and Allerton (Townships of Bradford), (Bradford, 1896), pp.300-01.
3. Allerton's population in 1851 was 2,041, 120 more than in 1841.

cannot but be reminded of times prior to the introduction of steam-impelled machinery. He will see many industrious weavers, as of yore, streining 'the warp along the garden walk, or highway-side, smoothing each thread...' The inhabitants cling pertinaciously to the old fashioned loom, 'by health and ease accompanied'...^{1.} As late as about 1870, at least four or five Clayton hand-loom weavers were engaged in weaving moreens for an Allerton manufacturer. One old weaver stated that his pay was 4s. a week, or 4s. 6d. with overtime. He had no additional means, "but", as he explained, "I've some gooid dowters. One on 'em charges me nobbut ninepence a week for my bread and bits of things". Proudly, he had never taken a "hawporth" of parish relief in his life, though he had pursued his cottage occupation for some sixty years.^{2.}

1. Collinson & Co., West Riding of Yorkshire...Directory, pp.306-08. No fewer than 12 manufacturers of hand-loom were listed in 1852.
2. "Brailsford's Bradford", Telegraph & Argus (Bradford), 28 Dec. 1970.

In his history of Black Dyke Mills, Queensbury, Professor Sigsworth traces the gradual decline of the hand-loom weavers working for John Foster & Son Ltd.¹ Three secondary sources relating to the impact of the introduction of the power-loom at the Mills are cited.² In total, these record that although Foster first used the power-loom in 1836, when 700 hand-loom weavers were employed, their services were retained "and many of these were allowed to work out what remained to them of their working life under the old system, or had employment found for them about the mill". Also, the hand-loom weavers employed by Foster "naturally looked upon the power-loom with dire misgiving. He managed them with much address and with keen appreciation of their ideas and foibles. Those who cared to do so were put to work on the machinery which he determinedly introduced, but those who preferred the old methods were allowed without demur to work their time out on the familiar hand-loom".

1. E.M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills....., pp.190-93.
2. W. Cudworth, Round About Bradford (Bradford, 1876), p.114; Fortunes Made in Business (1887); J.S. Fletcher, The Making of Modern Yorkshire (London, 1918), p.142.

Yet another laudatory source noted in 1852 that "the population of Clayton-heights, Queenshead, and surrounding neighbourhood, owe their present prosperity and social comfort to a great degree to the enterprising spirit of Messrs. John Foster and Son, who have recently enlarged their colossal and capacious manufactory, and employ daily 2,000 hands, besides a vast quantity of hand-loom weavers...The working classes in this neighbourhood are in very comfortable circumstances...."¹. From 1836 to 1842, little change occurred in the hand-loom weavers' situation at the Mill, but from 1842 onwards, power-looms increased rapidly in number and hand-loom gears decreased. In 1842, 61 power-looms were employed, and in 1845, 305; conversely, in the same years, the number of hand-loom gears fell from 267 to 42. The employment of hand-loom weavers continued until at least 1869, though during the previous two decades their output had been insignificant compared with that of the power-loom weavers. Moreover, whereas John Foster had employed a reported 700 hand-loom weavers in 1836, these had probably fallen to no more than about 50 by 1849, hardly the "vast quantity"

1. Collinson & Co., West Riding of Yorkshire....Directory, pp.311-12.

noted by the 1852 Directory. The gradual replacement of hand - by power-loom weaving inevitably meant a displacement of male by female weavers. A few men carried on weaving by hand, a few converted to power-looms and yet a few others were probably found different jobs in the mill. But for the hundreds made redundant, their fate is a matter for conjecture.^{1.}

At Bowers Mill, situated in the Black Brook valley between Barkisland and Steinland, Samuel Walker & Co. were by 1822 operating as corn factors and worsted manufacturers.^{2.} Even by the 1850's, the Walkers had refused to install power-looms at Bowers Mill, relying entirely upon local hand-loom weavers. When in 1858 Benjamin Walker, the head of the firm, died, the company paid the penalty in that no worsted manufacturer was willing to undertake the expense of installing a steam engine and power-looms. The trustees rented part of the mill to Steinland woollen manufacturers who,

1. E.M.Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills...., pp.191-93.

2. Augustus Muir, In Blackburne Valley: The History of Bowers Mills (Cambridge, 1969), p.14.

because power-looms were not at this date used nearly so widely in the woollen as in the worsted branch of the industry, were able to prolong the employ of local hand-weavers. Even after the brothers Joseph and Samuel Taylor, woollen manufacturers, bought Bowers Mill in July 1861, joining forces with Abraham Whitworth,^{1.} a young cloth finisher hitherto renting part of the mill, there was no immediate installation of a steam engine. As in the case of many other smaller manufacturers in the Huddersfield area, hand-looms continued to be used, though in some neighbouring valleys, low water levels were seasonally supplemented by the use of a small steam engine. The mills on the Black Brook had no water shortage, and it was not until the end of 1864 that boiler and steam engine were installed at Bowers.

1. Samuel Whitworth, the eldest son of Abraham, established himself as a dyer at Milner Royd, in Sowerby Bridge, and his trade included commission dyeing for Bowers. About 1890, Samuel sailed for America where he launched himself into the laundry and dry-cleaning business (A. Muir, p.34).

It is probable that by 1875, the mechanisation of both worsted and woollen industries was virtually complete, though in the case of woollens, hand-loom were still weaving in many valleys until the end of the century.¹ Indeed, as late as 1901, there were still over one hundred male Yorkshire hand-weavers working at home.²

From the foregoing examples, it is clear that the mechanisation of the spinning and weaving processes in the West Riding worsted manufacture, though in general occurring somewhat earlier than in the woollen manufacture, was a gradual and uneven development. The rate of transition varied considerably from place to place even within a relatively small geographical area, and its impact upon the individual hand-loom weaver was equally variable. Whilst there is no doubting that the average weekly wage of the hand-loom worsted weaver fell steadily from the end of the Napoleonic Wars onwards, and that his position became more and more untenable with the increasing introduction of the power-loom, a losing battle was fought for a time by increasing effort, working

1. A. Muir, pp.18-19, 23, 29-30.

2. W. Smith, p.446.

long hours and employing every member of the family. The unequal struggle for many ended when their already desperate plight was compounded with general industrial depression, and then, all ranks of Yorkshire textile society were afflicted to some degree.

One means of escape from the relentless struggle to survive lay in emigration across the Atlantic where at least opportunity and effort could be equated hopefully with success. It was also preferable to escape the home situation, whether it was a case of the whole family or only one member of that family uprooting, before the problem became insoluble. As many found to their cost in the 1840s, it was extremely difficult or even impossible for many textile workers having reached near or total penury to obtain official support for their emigration. It is easy of course to ascribe the motives for emigration simply to a declining trade or to industrial depression. Against this background, many other motives may be suspected but not always revealed: domestic or marital discord; elopement; the encouragement,

implicit or explicit, given by a relation, friend or emigration society; Chartist activities or sympathies (especially after the failure of the Newport Rising of 1839);^{1.} hatred of the factory system; and many others ranging from outright courage to downright irresponsibility.

Industrial depression which struck the West Riding in 1825 and which continued with varying intensity until the early 1830's provided the background to not inconsiderable emigration - or to unanswered requests for removal overseas. The weavers and woolcombers whose protracted strike began in Bradford in June 1825 first demanded wage advances, then struggled for union recognition.^{2.} From late 1825 to mid-1826, the Yorkshire press recorded the great incidence of unemployment and distress in the West Riding. "In answer to the numerous applications we have from the unemployed workmen to know what vessels are designing soon to sail for America from Liverpool", one editor observed,

1. See: Ray Boston, British Chartists in America (Manchester, and Totowa, N.J., 1971), passim, but esp. pp.88-97 for summaries of several Yorkshire Chartists in America.

2. E.P. Thompson, p.282.

"...it certainly excites very distressful feelings to hear so many of our countrymen express such anxiety to transpose themselves, almost to any quarter of the globe, to escape from the calamities they suffer...But much we fear America is not at present that place; at least for those who cannot take with them means of support until they can obtain some profitable employment. To crowd over to America without any previous engagement, affords but a dreary prospect...surely to be destitute among strangers is far worse than amongst those for whom either sympathy or law may claim some relief".^{1.}

In the localities of Thurstonland, New Mill, Fulstone, Hepworth and Holmfirth, to the south and south-east of Huddersfield, most of the inhabitants prior to the autumn of 1826 had gained their livelihood by weaving woollen cloth, especially plains and fine broadcloths.

1. Wakefield & Halifax Journal, 18 Aug. 1826.

By the October of that year, however, very few families were fully employed: some were partly employed at low wages and others were not working at their own trades, being occupied on the public roads at 1s.6d (for a married man) or 10d. (for a single man) a day.¹ To the west, trade was deteriorating in the Saddleworth area, where, in the parish of Delph, upwards of 3,500 persons were reportedly on the list of paupers.² Among various petitions to Parliament "praying for assistance to emigrate", were those in early 1827 from the inhabitants of Rastrick and Ovenden.³

1. Wakefield & Halifax Journal, 13 Oct. 1826. Distress had been increased by the abscondence of Godfrey Mellor, a merchant who had left debts of about £30,000. Three manufacturers in the neighbourhood were owed £4,000.
2. Yorkshire Gazette, 4 Nov. 1826.
3. Yorkshire Gazette, 24 Feb. 1827. For the work of Robert John Wilmont, later Sir Robert Wilmont-Horton, and his contemporary championship of emigration issues, see W.S. Shepperson, British Emigration to North America, p.12; also references in Bradford & Huddersfield Courier, 31 Aug., 7 Sep. 1826; and Yorkshire Gazette, 3 Mar. 1827.

The Yorkshire press portrayed matters as little better in American textile manufacturing. One young man, writing from the United States to his parents in Stalybridge, painted a depressing picture. "Since our arrival", he wrote in 1826, "we have been at Patterson,^{1.} where we find things almost as bad as in England. We cannot possibly procure work, either in dressing or overlooking of power-loom. At present, myself and K - are weaving cotton by hand; this we find a little better than in England. The factory hours for work here are about fifteen hours per day, and the power-loom weavers are scarcely able to gain a livelihood by it; for my own part, I sincerely wish I had never left home; ...S - is quite down-spirited, and sick of Patterson, consequently he and C - are for making trial of Philadelphia; but I believe times are equally as bad there as in Patterson, - I see no inducement, at present, for any transmigration from England to here..." In conclusion: "If trade was ever so good, you should never come over to this country; for taking everything collectively, and speaking the real sentiment of my mind sincerely, as I hope to go to heaven, there is no comfort here

1. presumably Paterson, N.J.

compared with old England".^{1.}

The depression in the New England woollen manufacturing was also hardly likely to encourage would-be Yorkshire emigrants in 1826. On 23rd October of that year, several notable Massachusetts woollen manufacturers^{2.} met in the Exchange Coffee House, Boston, to discuss the situation of "unparalleled depression" and its causes. The distress in every manufacturing village of Massachusetts was clear: the cessation of machinery; the reduction of wages; the large number of unemployed workmen travelling the country looking for work; waggon-loads of wool returning unsold to farmers; and a reduction of 50 per cent in the prices of manufactured goods. At one establishment, where during the previous eighteen months about

1. Extract of letter in Bradford & Huddersfield Courier, 17 Aug. 1826.
2. Chairman, Hon. Bezaleel Taft (of Uxbridge), Hon. Mr. Tufts (of Dudley), Col. Shepherd (of Northampton), Mr. Woolcott (of Southbridge) and Messrs. Abbott Lawrence and J. Clapp (of Boston, Mass.).

\$500,000 had been expended, not one yard of cloth had been produced. The proprietors had decided on the lesser of two evils - to lose interest on their capital and suffer deterioration of their stock and machinery rather than to operate at a loss on their manufactured goods. A second woollen manufactory, which in 1823, it was claimed, had been the most extensive in New England, had now released most of its workers and would shortly stop production. Many other manufactories in Worcester County had partly stopped production. The cause of all the distress, claimed the manufacturers, lay in the importation of foreign cloths - mainly from Britain - and the answer lay in memorialising Congress for increased protection. Earlier manufacturing distress in 1824 had produced an upward revision of tariff by Congress. Distress then had not been as great as in 1826: then, those establishments conducted most skilfully and economically had suffered only small losses, but in 1826, all woollen manufactories were incurring a 15 to 20 per cent financial loss on their products. Manufacturers who formerly were the most vehement in advocating free-trade were now stopping production. Congress could prevent wholesale bankruptcies only by increasing

duties still further on cloth imports from
overseas.^{1.}

Yet, despite the omens, Jabez Hollingworth, followed slightly later by his brother John, was the first of the Hollingworth family to emigrate from the Huddersfield area to central New England in the autumn of 1826.^{2.} Trade recession at home was undoubtedly a factor in their decision to emigrate; but, although both were soon working at the Leicester Manufacturing Company, makers of woollen cloth, they were "doing all that lays in our power to accomplish the objects that induced us to leave Old England to brave the dangers of the Atlantic Ocean and to come to America, that is to provide an happy asylum for our kindred, our friends and ourselves, and it is our firm opinion that it will be best to form ourselves into a system after the manner of Robert Owen's plan,^{3.} that is to form ourselves into

1. Wakefield & Halifax Journal, 29 Dec. 1826.
2. Jabez Hollingworth, Liverpool, to Wm. Rawcliff, Oldfield, nr. Honley, Huddersfield, 9 Oct. 1826; John Hollingworth, South Leicester, Mass., to Wm. Rawcliff, 1 Apr. 1827 (T.W. Leavitt, ed., The Hollingworth Letters....., pp.3-9).
3. at New Harmony, Indiana.

a society in common to help and assist each other and to have one common stock for it is the unnatural ideas of thine and mine that produces all the evils of tyranny slavery poverty and oppression of the present day". Consequently, Jabez and John, their cousins George and James Hollingworth and Joseph Kenyon, contracted for a parcel of land of 200 acres, 24 acres cleared, situated in Yorkshire township, Cattaraugus Co., N.Y., some forty miles from Buffalo. The group thought "of erecting a small Factory at some futer period", for communistic cooperation in farming or manufacturing was seen as the only way to "be free from the oppression of the Manufactureing System". To achieve this, family, friends and relations still in England were encouraged to join them as soon as possible.^{1.}

The plan to settle on land in up-state New York proved abortive, but by December 1827, John and Jabez were joined at Leicester, Mass., by their father (George) and mother, and by their brothers (Joseph, James and Edwin) and sister (Hannah). At Leicester, Jabez was in the machine shop and John was slubbing, Joseph worked in the finishing room, James spun and Edwin served as a warp winder.

1. John Hollingworth, S. Leicester, Mass., to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 1 Apr. 1827 (The Hollingworth Letters..., pp.5-9).

The father seems to have been a weaver. Even though Jabez, for example, within a year of his starting work at Leicester was able to command an increase of \$5, from \$20 to \$25 a month, he was soon to be replaced by a man "that can work boath in Wood and Iron. This is rarely to be found except in a Yankee who professes to do every thing..."¹. Moreover, the Hollingworths found that working conditions were perhaps little better than in England: if necessary, Sunday work was demanded to repair and maintain machines, to spin essential yarn and to shear finished cloth. Large orders were completed by working as many hours as daylight persisted. As George Hollingworth found to his cost, male workers were replaced by female, when available and found suitable. "March 16 [1830] Yesterday morning", Jabez recorded, "Father had Notice to Quit as they are going to have all their work done by Girls...Now you see the Fruits of Large Factorys. Here we are supplanted by Females that is expected to perform the same quantity of work for one half the wages the quality being out of the question. Here we are driven from one Factory to another seeking rest and finding none

1. Jabez Hollingworth, S. Leicester, Mass., to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley (undated) 1827; George Hollingworth to Wm. Rawcliff, 28 Jun. 1828 (The Hollingworth Letters....., pp.17, 29).

and when we are in work at what we may call decent wages they have so many different ways to get it all back again that it is impossible to save any thing. The very highest rents fuel Provisions wearing apparel and every thing else at the very highest prices..."¹.

In the spring of 1830, Joseph, James, Edwin and George Hollingworth moved to Southbridge, Mass., where they were employed by the Hamilton Woolen Company. George and Joseph warped, James jack-spun and Edwin spooled. Meanwhile, John and Jabez moved to Woodstock, Conn., to work in the Muddy Brook Pond Factory which they leased. There, within a year, they were joined by their father and other brothers. The mill was leased for three years, but not apparently purchased by the Hollingworths. About 1832, all with the exception of John and Joseph moved to locations outside Woodstock.².

Although plans to buy land in New York State did not come to fruition, and the Hollingworths were constantly troubled by their

1. Jabez Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 14 Mar. 1830 (The Hollingworth Letters....., p.66).
2. T.W. Leavitt (ed.), The Hollingworth Letters....., pp.XV-XXV.

participation in the hated factory system, they always retained the vision of owning a factory, whereby, if not escaping the system, they could at least be victorious over it. On both sides of the Atlantic, Joseph wrote:

"I hate to see a factory stand
In any part of the kown land
To me it talks of wickedness
Of Families that's in distress
Of Tyrany and much extortion
And of slavery a portion
I wish that I no more might see
Another woollen Factory."¹

In the United States, "There is the Factory Sistem", Joseph noted later in 1828, "which breeds a kind of petty Tyrany but ere long will be leveled as low as its supporters I Hope". At least, "my Father [George] has no occasion to hawk Nuts in America as every body can have them for gathering in this Country. Neither is he bound to carry Mes^{rs}. Haighs wet Peices up Mirylane on his Back nor to go Roast himself in their stove every Sunday morning for Nothing". Despite the initial and inevitable difficulties of settling in a new country, Joseph had "never

1. Joseph Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 20 May 1828 (The Hollingworth Letters..., p.23).

seen....a Beggar such as I used Daily to see in England, nor a tax gatherer with his Red Book as Impudent as the D-v-l, taking the last penny out of the poor Mans Pocket. In this country there are no Lords, nor Dukes, nor Counts, nor Marquises, nor Earls, no Royal Family to support nor no King..."¹ Whilst emigration to America certainly held no guarantee of immediate success or security, there were the opportunities to farm or manufacture without fear of artificial or long-established hindrances.

The letters written by and to the Hollingworth family also reveal that in at least the late 1820's and early 1830's, many other Yorkshiremen from the Huddersfield area, doubtless encouraged in part by trade recession, removed themselves to the developing textile areas of New York State and New England. By the mid-1820's, J. [? Joseph] Wadsworth was the owner of a woollen factory at Poughkeepsie, Dutchess Co., N.Y., where beginning in 1826, he manufactured broadcloths and

1. Joseph Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 7 Dec. 1828 (The Hollingworth Letters...., pp.37-39).

cassimeres.¹ There, it is clear that he employed or welcomed as visitors a great many Yorkshire compatriots. Joseph Hirst, Wadsworth's cousin, was employed at Poughkeepsie at least prior to 1828.² Jonathan Hirst, perhaps another cousin, is noted there in 1828-29,³ as were Joseph and Grace Brook(s) and —Bowers in 1828. Joseph Fletcher died at Poughkeepsie in December 1827, and was buried the same day that the second party of Hollingworths arrived there on their way to Massachusetts. James Hollingworth went to the funeral, and his brother Joseph heard the funeral sermon preached the following Sunday at the local Methodist chapel.⁴ William Lockwood was at

1. T.W. Leavitt (ed.), The Hollingworth Letters...., p.19n.
2. J. Wadsworth, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 7 Mar. 1828 (The Hollingworth Letters...., pp.19-20).
3. Joseph Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 7 Dec. 1828, and c/o Jonathan Hirst, Wadsworth's Factory, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 7 Nov. 1829 (The Hollingworth Letters...., pp.37, 53).
4. Joseph Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 21 Sep. 1828 (The Hollingworth Letters...., pp.32, 34).

Poughkeepsie between at least 1829 and 1831.^{1.}

Joseph Hollingworth sought work at Poughkeepsie through William Rawcliff's good offices in

November 1829; and Jabez visited the town at the end of that year, was equally unsuccessful in

obtaining work and returned to Massachusetts.^{2.}

William Rawcliff, the recipient of the vast majority of the letters in the Hollingworth collection, deserves further attention.^{3.} Rawcliff,

George Hollingworth's brother-in-law, lived at

Oldfield, Honley, near Huddersfield, and possessed

a modest estate at Miry Lane Bottom.^{4.} He appears

to have been mainly a farmer there, and though

obviously not without knowledge of domestic textile

manufacture, he admitted that "he would be clumsy

1. George Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 21-29 Oct. 1829; Joseph Haigh, Pittsburgh, Pa., to Wm. Rawcliff, 8 Jul. 1830; Joseph Hollingworth, Pond Factory, Woodstock, Conn., to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 17 Jul. 1831 (The Hollingworth Letters..., pp.52,86, 99).

2. Joseph Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 7 Nov. 1829; Jabez, George and Joseph Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 15, 17 Jan. 1830 (The Hollingworth Letters..., pp.55-56).

3. In the Hollingworth Letters, 29 out of the 34 letters are addressed to William Rawcliff, in Yorkshire and the United States.

4. Oldfield is situated 1 ml. south of Honley, which in turn is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ mls. south of Huddersfield.

at weaveing or Spining, &c."¹. Nevertheless, he probably had tenants or members of the family spinning and weaving cloth for him for, in August 1827, he received a letter from John P. Barnett, ship's-captain or merchant of Liverpool, who, having returned from the United States and having seen the Hollingworth relations in Boston, had been unable to dispose of cloth at the price named by Rawcliff. Barnett took the cloth - probably twelve yards of woollen "Black Cloth" - from Boston to New Orleans. Again unsuccessful, Barnett returned the cloth to Boston to (Samuel F.) Coolidge, (Benjamin) Poor and (Francis C.) Head at 67-69 Kilby Street, the disposel "subject to the Order of Mr. Brown".²

William Rawcliff was also a man of reasonable means: he helped several relations to emigrate to the United States, and his own presence there, not least financially, was strongly

1. Bradley Clay, Huddersfield, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 7 Sep. 1830; Joseph Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 8 Feb. - 7 Mar. 1829 (The Hollingworth Letters..., pp.49, 90).
2. John P. Barnett, Liverpool, to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 11 Aug. 1827; Joseph Hollingworth to Wm. Rawcliff, (n.d.) 1827, 20 May 1828 (The Hollingworth Letters..., pp.17-18, 18n, 23). There is also reference to "the house and looms at Miry Lane Botton".

encouraged for fully two years before he actually emigrated in 1829. It is likely that Rawcliff assisted Jabez Hollingworth's passage when the latter emigrated from the Huddersfield area in October 1826, for Jabez very carefully itemised his expenditure to Rawcliff, even to the extent of 5s.0d. - "What I cannot give account for about " - out of the total of £10.18s.¹. In 1827, William Rawcliff was pressed strongly not only to join the cooperative plan for developing the tract of land in Cattaraugus County, N.Y., but also to provide assistance to emigrate for other members of the Hollingworth family. John Hollingworth and his family reached South Leicester, Mass., from Yorkshire in 1827, thanks to Rawcliff's assistance. Help for the others was also requested: "they want to come immedtly and they want our assistance which we cannot both give and pay for our land, but we shall render them all the assistance we can whether we have the land or not, but we think we could do both with [W.R's] assistance". John Hollingworth did

1. Jabez Hollingworth, Liverpool, to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 9 Oct. 1826 (The Hollingworth Letters...., pp.3-5).

not want the family newcomers to find neither house nor work, "But all these evils might be provided against by [W.R.] joining us that we might both get them to this country and keep the land which would be a home for them provided they did not get into employment when they got here..."¹. Indeed, William Rawcliff probably helped George Hollingworth, his wife, son Joseph and daughter Hannah, to remove themselves to America in late 1827, for George wrote: "If you [W.R.] should come it would be of no practical use to send you any money [as recompense] to England. But should you finally determine to Stop in Old England then we will send you some Money as soon as possible".² In early 1829, noting Rawcliff's probable intention of going to the United States, Joseph Hollingworth advised him that although he would meet initially with difficulty and perhaps disappointment, his efforts would be rewarded and he would have no regrets: "I Should advise you to Settle all your concerns to Sell all your Property to get in all dues and to pay all Depts if possible, and when you get to this Country you will be as one that is Born again..." William Rawcliff, together with Joseph's uncles, John Hollingworth and John

1. John Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 1 Apr./May 1827; Jabez Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, (n.d.) 1827 (The Hollingworth Letters..., pp. 6-7, 9-10, 12, 16-17).

2. George Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 28 Jun. 1828 (The Hollingworth Letters..., p. 28).

Kenyon, and their families, it was suggested, should all travel together so as to reduce costs, and that Rawcliff should again assist with expenses, if necessary, and these would be reimbursed in America by family members already there.^{1.}

William Rawcliff, his wife Nancy, and family, William, Mary Ann and Anis, ultimately sailed from Liverpool on (probably) 8th July and landed at New York, 17th August 1829. Also included in the party were Mary Kenyon - another emigrating partly at Rawcliff's expense - J. Brooks and several others.^{2.}

Rawcliff was soon established at Poughkeepsie, though in the August or September, he apparently went "West to see some Land there".^{3.} Whilst Rawcliff was noted as being a weaver at Poughkeepsie,^{4.} he always retained the vision of possessing land, but independently, it seems, away from the Hollingworths.

1. Joseph Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Honley, 8 Feb. - 7 Mar. 1829 (The Hollingworth Letters...., pp.40, 42-43).
2. Joseph and Jabez Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 6 Sep. 1829 (The Hollingworth Letters...., pp.44-46).
3. George Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 21-29 Oct. 1829 (The Hollingworth Letters...., pp.50-52).
4. Jabez, George and Joseph Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 15, 17 Jan. 1830 (The Hollingworth Letters...., p.59).

There are indications that he paid one short visit to South Leicester in the autumn of 1829,¹ but he seems to have been reluctant to become too involved with his in-laws once he was in America. Joseph Hollingworth requested his uncle to find him work in Poughkeepsie in November 1829, just as George had asked on Jabez's behalf the previous month - both requests to no avail.² Rawcliff avoided the suggestion that he, George Hollingworth and James Shaw, a Saddleworth expatriate, should take on Richmond's Factory in New York State, with Jabez being employed earlier to put the factory in good repair.³ Equally, Rawcliff did not take up Joseph's suggestion that he might like to visit Woodstock, Conn., with a view to joining the Hollingworth brothers in buying a factory, or to keeping a store in New York City thereby acting as agent for the sale of all or part of the goods manufactured by the Hollingworths.⁴

1. Joseph Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 7 Nov. 1829 (The Hollingworth Letters...., pp.53-55).
2. George Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 21-29 Oct. 1829 (The Hollingworth Letters...., pp.50-52).
3. George Hollingworth to Wm. Rawcliff, 24 Jan. 1830; Joseph and Jabez Hollingworth to Wm. Rawcliff, 13-16 Mar. 1830 (The Hollingworth Letters...., pp.60-61, 65).
4. Joseph Hollingworth, Woodstock, Conn., to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 5 Sep. 1830, 17 Jul., 20 Dec. 1831 (The Hollingworth Letters...., pp.88-89, 98, 103-04).

Perhaps William Rawcliff possessed too independent a spirit to cooperate; or perhaps, more basically, he was tired of providing financial support.¹ Whereas the Hollingworths wanted to "form a Copartnership on equal Shares and engage Richmond's Factory and use our United efforts to sett it a going, for we can perceive no other mode of extercating ourselves from poverty and thraldom",² Rawcliff's probably correct perception was that it was his money that was required. It seems probable, however, that on the strength of the sale of his Yorkshire property at Miry Lane Bottom in the summer of 1831 - since Rawcliff's emigration in July 1829 left in the hands of Bradley Clay, of Huddersfield, and sold by private contract to Elihu Hobson of Netherthong for £281 - he fulfilled his intentions of purchasing

1. The Hollingworths still owed Rawcliff at least £50 as late as September 1832 (Jabez Hollingworth, Sturbridge, Mass., to Wm. Rawcliff, 7 Oct. 1832: The Hollingworth Letters..., pp.105-06).
2. George Hollingworth, S. Leicester, to Wm. Rawcliff, 24 Jan. 1830 (The Hollingworth Letters..., p.61).

American acreage.^{1.} By the autumn of 1832, William Rawcliff had left Wadsworth's Factory at Poughkeepsie and was located at either High Falls, Rosendale, Ulster County, or Liberty, Sullivan County, both in New York State.^{2.}

The Hollingworths and William Rawcliff were but representative of those of the Yorkshire textile areas who emigrated to America in the late 1820s. Rawcliff who left in the summer of 1829 did so against a background of industrial recession which showed few signs of improvement. Indeed, during the following winter and spring,

1. Bradley Clay, Huddersfield, to Wm. Rawcliff, Poughkeepsie, 1 Aug. 1831 (The Hollingworth Letters...., p.101).
2. Although T.W.Leavitt, p.106n., suggests that Rawcliff "was probably employed by the Rosendale (Wool) Manufacturing Company", there are a number of references to Rawcliff's interest in purchasing farming land, perhaps "with a mill on it" (Joseph Hollingworth, Woodstock, to Wm. Rawcliff, 20 Dec. 1831: The Hollingworth Letters...., p.104). In October 1832, Jabez requested of Rawcliff: "If you are on your Land send us all particulars. I want to keep up a correspondence with you concerning your building..." (Jabez Hollingworth, Sturbridge, to Wm. Rawcliff, Rosendale or Liberty, N.Y., 7 Oct.1832: The Hollingworth Letters...., p.107). Again, Rawcliff's employment at the Rosendale Manufg. Co., if so, was perhaps only an interim measure.

great distress prevailed in the West Riding, and the main reason for this, it was suggested, was the introduction of power-looms. One result was that "unfortunately, the sober and industrious artizan, who, in better times, 'had laid something by for a rainy day' is expending it in order to become an 'alien and a stranger in a foreign land', leaving the incumbrances behind..."¹.

In the Knaresborough flax and linen industry, the boom of 1825 gave way to recession; and by January 1827, many mills in the neighbourhood were operating only four or five days in the week. During the next few years, the trade encountered varying fortunes, but the condition of the hand-loom weavers worsened. By 1830, even fully employed weavers with families to support found it necessary to seek supplementary relief from the poor-law overseers. Magistrates relaxed the rules thereby allowing relief to a man who still had work in his loom, and assistance usually amounted to 1s.6d. or

1. Halifax Commercial Chronicle, 15 May 1830.

2s. per week.^{1.} It was no coincidence, therefore, that the spring of 1830 saw the departure from Knaresborough and district of "a great number of persons of all ages" for North America, chiefly Canada. Many of the emigrants, it was reported, were "in possession of considerable means".^{2.} Some undoubtedly uprooted from an agricultural situation to join the tide of rural emigration from Yorkshire in 1830-31. Others, by selling many of their belongings, or by drawing upon reserves 'laid by for a rainy day', were probably able to raise sufficient to remove themselves. But how many handloom weavers receiving supplementary relief were included in those about to sail is uncertain.

1. The Pateley Bridge Local History Tutorial Class (B. Jennings, ed.), A History of Nidderdale (Huddersfield, 1967), p.230; The Harrogate W.E.A. Local History Group (B. Jennings, ed.), A History of Harrogate & Knaresborough (Huddersfield, 1970), p.275.
2. Yorkshire Gazette, 8 May 1830.

Moreover, in early 1832, hand-loom weavers in general, "except they have been accustomed to handle the spade as well as to throw the shuttle", were specifically discouraged from emigrating to Canada. There were no disabilities against farmers, agricultural labourers, joiners, smiths, masons and tailors, but for weavers the outlook was black in Upper Canada - and for the time being in the United States.¹

After the labour union failures of the late 1820's and early 1830's, many workers tended to regard these giant organisations as ineffective and they frequently looked for their salvation across the Atlantic. Many hundreds of skilled mechanics and craftsmen regularly left for the United States, where, as part of developing American industry, textile mills offered an ever-widening outlet for Yorkshire and Lancashire workers. Those British industries which employed a large labour-force in good times clearly produced the greatest number of

1. Leeds Mercury, 28 Apr. 1832.

potential emigrants in depressed times; and by 1837, the rapid growth in the cotton trade, together with the more slowly developing, though long-established wool trade, made the textile business into the single largest employer in Britain.^{1.}

The fifteen years or so following 1836 covered a period of recession and depression. In the first part of 1837, the Saddleworth cloth trade, for instance, was well occupied in fulfilling orders for both home and abroad, with merinos, shawls and broadcloths finding a good market. Operatives were kept steadily employed at wages similar to those paid during the previous summer.^{2.} Towards the end of 1837, however, the woollen cloth trade in Saddleworth and district became very slack, with business the dulllest since 1826.^{3.} With very few goods

1. W.S. Shepperson, British Emigration to North America, pp. 76-77.

2. Halifax Guardian, 28 Jan. 1837.

3. Yorkshire Gazette, 4 Nov. 1826.

being manufactured for export, primarily to the United States, the position of weavers, spinners and dyers became increasingly precarious. Producing mainly striped kerseymeres, many workers were occupied only three or four days a week, but some were totally unemployed. By mid-December, an individual's weekly earnings were only 6s. or 7s., and it was becoming increasingly difficult for families of more than five to exist.¹ The Saddleworth woollen cloth trade showed no improvement by the early summer of 1838, and with business at its most depressed for several years, prospects were bleak: many weavers, spinners and dyers were by now completely without work, but those who were half-employed found some slight consolation in the manufacturers' not reducing their wages.²

1. Halifax Guardian, 14, 28 Nov., 19 Dec. 1837.

2. Ibid., 15 May 1838.

Except for two or three years in the mid-1840s, thousands of unemployed were to be found in most of the industrial cities from the Midlands to southern Scotland. Textile workers in general were in a particularly unenviable situation: "In all our large cities", the Manchester Guardian observed in 1841, "Leeds, Manchester, Stockport, Liverpool, those destitute seeking employment are in tens of thousands".¹ The theme was reiterated endlessly during the 1840s by the West Riding press. Power machinery affected artisans in all trades disastrously, but conditions were unusually hopeless for hand-loom weavers, who were gradually reduced to an appalling state of destitution.²

In Yorkshire, the Bradford press printed one extract in 1839 from the Corn Law Circular as being particularly appropriate to the condition of the hand-loom weaver:

1. Manchester Guardian, 17 Nov. 1841.

2. W.S. Shepperson, pp.76-77.

"Whenever the distress and want of employment arising from our own unnatural corn laws have been found to reach an intolerable height, as in 1819, 1829 and 1839, there has never wanted a remedy - send away the people!....

[The answer, it was claimed, was to import food cheaply rather than send people overseas to search for it]... But the hand-loom weavers! there is so much sympathy in parliament for the sufferings of the hand-loom weavers that something must be done for them; they at least must be shipped off to some other country.

But what say the hand-loom weavers themselves to this kind proposal...? the hand-loom weavers declared they thought it would be cheaper and easier to bring food to them than for them to be carried abroad in quest of it.

And we reckon our countrymen of some value, especially that class of them which emigrates, constituted as it is, not of the poverty-stricken, the abject, and the helpless, but of the energetic and industrious small capitalist. It is a grievous error to suppose that emigration relieves us of the dead-weight of our population, the vicious, the worn-out, or the idle...."¹.

1. Bradford Observer, 11 Jul. 1839.

One group of five families (or 25 individuals) leaving Allerton, near Bradford, that same summer of 1839 certainly do not seem to have warranted the description of "poverty-stricken,...subject, and.... helpless", nor were they awaiting the arrival of cheap food. From their place of residence it is safe to assume that one, if not all, of the families, had been engaged in hand-weaving; and although by the very nature of their work they would have suffered gradually declining money-wages over the years and no doubt viewed the steady incursion of the power-loom with apprehension, their days as hand-loom weavers were by no means yet over in Allerton. As late as about 1852, the "manufacture of moreens by hand-loom labour[was]carried on to a pretty considerable extent in[Allerton], not less than upwards of one thousand pieces being made weekly by the small hand-loom manufacturers, who carry on their business in the true 'primitive style'"¹. The group which left Allerton in June

1. Collinson & Co., West Riding of Yorkshire...Directory (1852), p.306.

1839 emigrated probably not just because they were hand-weavers but because general textile distress was so pervasive in the West Riding. Leaving "for Liverpool, on their way to America", it was reported, "the careven consisted of two large waggons and two carts, and for a few days previous, the place resembled a fair. Individuals from a distance of many miles visited them to send letters and parcels to friends across the Atlantic..." Many more families were preparing to leave the area.^{1.}

The opportunity to hand-weave woollen cloth in Allerton had certainly not disappeared by the time of the group's departure in 1839. The same may be said, perhaps even more so, of those hand-weaving in the woollen districts of the Riding. Abel Stephenson, a clothier^{2.} and Chartist sympathiser, who went to the United States from Thurstonland, south of Huddersfield, in 1837,^{3.} left a local society predominantly engaged

1. Bradford Observer, 6 Jun. 1839.

2. That is, he sold the cloth he wove himself.

3. R. Boston, British Chartist in America, p.95, states that Stephenson left the U.K. in 1839, the same year as other prominent Yorkshire Chartists, such as Peter Bussey (of Bradford), William Thornton (of Halifax) and Chatterton and Wolstenholme (of Sheffield). But, Stephenson was writing home from Pittsburgh in April 1838.

in the manufacture of woollen cloth by hand. Stephenson would have experienced reductions in wages for Thurstonland hand-loom weavers in 1826-27¹, and a decade later he noted with apprehension the introduction into the village of the power-loom. But power-loom weaving there was only in its infancy, and other members of the family continued to weave by hand throughout the 1840s. Indeed, James, his brother (born 1799), was listed as a clothier in 1841 and 1851, and another brother David (born 1805) was a weaver in 1851. ~~And~~ and Abel Stephenson, sons of James and still in their 'teens, were apprentice hand-loom weavers of woollen cloth. Like other hand-weavers, they suffered the full impact of power-loom from the late 1840s onwards.²

The reasons for Abel Stephenson's passage to America in 1837 were probably much the same as many others' for leaving the West Riding and Lancashire in the late 1830s and 1840s. His views may

1. Wakefield & Halifax Journal, 13 Oct. 1826.
2. Charlotte Erickson, Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America (London, 1972), pp.17, 301-02.

have been partly shared by his brother Richard, another hand-loom weaver who left Thurstonland for New York State in 1840.¹ Though not apparently an immediate victim of the power-loom, Abel Stephenson was haunted by the prospect of technological change and the impending demise of hand-crafts in the woollen industry, together with the worsening poverty of those working in 'the primitive style' exacerbated by cyclical depression.² In April 1838, he wrote from Pittsburgh:

"By the accounts that comes, times..but worse then when I left you...I shall never come back to Thurstonland to be a clothier again. I may come back sometime to see you, but not to stop....I suppose Brooks as only got 27 power looms yet. By the news that comes, there is not better a prospect of a change then ever for the better. The new poor law bill still goin on. Yet but I hope there is none of you got to...[go into]...a union workhouse..."³

1. Charlotte Erickson, Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America (London, 1972), p.302.
2. Ibid., p.236.
3. Abel Stephenson, Pittsburgh, Penn., to Abel Stephenson and relatives, Thurstonland, nr. Huddersfield, 18 Apr. 1838. (Letters of Emigrants to America, LSE, M627; C. Erickson, Invisible Immigrants..., pp.303-04; correspondence with, and visits by J.T. Dixon to Alderman C. Stephenson, Huddersfield, 1970, owner of original Stephenson letters).

Again from Ohio, later that year: "I hope we shall all be prepared to meet at Gods right hand, were tyrants and oppressors will not be admitted to drive a poor man away to a foreign land as they do in this world. I suppose times is still getting worse. I saw there was a gloomy prospect for a poor man before I left. I was determined I would try my luck in America and I do not regret it, thank God. I could not bear the thought of been brought to a state of destitution and starvation amidst plenty. I would do anything that is necessary to be done in exterminating that vermin which is the cause of all the distress and misery that exists, so universally throughout the world..."¹

Stephenson's violent inclinations and village radicalism were also underlined when he assured his relatives - from the safety of the United States - that acceptable changes in British life and conditions could never be achieved by petition, only "by dint of metal and steel".²

1. Abel Stephenson, Glens Run, Ohio, to Relatives, Thurstonland, 26 Nov. 1838.

2. C. Erickson, p.233.

When Stephenson reached the United States he was no doubt disappointed to find that textile manufacturing there contained some of the same hated elements he had just left in Yorkshire. "Machinery is increasing fast in this country", he wrote from Pittsburgh in April 1838, "so that in a little time it will be as bad as it is in England. I shall not advise to come to this country to work in the manufacturing business, for times in the states is nearly as bad as they are in the old country; but it is better in the western country. Yet power looms is increasing rapidly..."¹ For a few unsettled months, while at Pittsburgh, Stephenson apparently wove for "Old Haigh, he his a little tyrant. He charged me 5 dollars the pound. The difference in the value of money is 6s.6d. to the dollar, the standard value. He said he had as good a right to the profit of exchange as the money changers. He says the labouring class is too independent in [America]. He says as much as any man against tyranny and oppression and he his as bad as any men according to the power he has, so no more of Old Haigh..."²

1. Abel Stephenson, Pittsburgh, Penn., to Abel Stephenson, etc., Thurstonland, 18 Apr. 1838.
2. It seems likely that Haigh had also left Yorkshire earlier.

Stephenson left Pittsburgh in early August 1838, and despite thoughts of sailing down to New Orleans, he was soon weaving and spinning for John Hobson (from Hagg, near Holmfirth) and Joseph Earnshaw (possibly from Leeds) who rented a factory near Wheeling, Ohio.¹ He appears to have been settled there but as a result of being "sick of the fever and ague" from July to October 1839, decided to move to a more salubrious place. Stephenson did not gain further employment until January 1840, by which time he had moved eastwards to Massachusetts. At Northampton, he was reduced to spinning for his livelihood as "They weav all by power here. Wages is very low here. I shall not stop here any longer then till times begins to revive again. I shall go back west again... Sickness and been out of work it is nearly taken all my earnings..." He could not encourage other members of the family to leave Yorkshire for "Times in the manufacturing business is very dull and likely to continue till there be a radical

1. Abel Stephenson, Glens Run, Ohio, to Relatives, Thurstonland, 26 Nov. 1838.

reform in the currency...Fancy goods is imported from England cheaper than they can make them here. Out in the western country there is nothing of the kind were except a little in the towns. Manufacturing will always be a poor business in America till they have to compete with England and a better currency in the country..." While at Northampton, Stephenson became friendly with a shoemaker, William Swift, from Lower Wortley, near Leeds, who was "going to send for his family".^{1.}

As a result of his experiences both in Yorkshire and the United States, Abel Stephenson decided that only those going to farm should emigrate to America: "A man could buy a large farm for a 1000 dollars which will keep him and his family in a state of comfortable independence";^{2.}

1. Abel Stephenson, Northampton Factory Village, Mass., to Relatives, Thurstonland, 18 Apr. 1840; C. Erickson, pp.259-60, 306. Stephenson's hostility to paper money - a notion brought from England - is noted in his letters from Pittsburgh, Ohio and Massachusetts.
2. Abel Stephenson, Pittsburgh, 18 Apr. 1838.

and again: "America is a fine country for a farmer. It is a sure and independent living".^{1.} True to his convictions, he bought 160 acres of uncleared government land in Jefferson County, Iowa, probably in 1840. There he was joined in 1845 by his brother Richard who had emigrated from Thurstonland to New York State in 1840. Richard took over one-half of Abel's acreage, whereupon the latter set out for Canada and disappeared, possibly killed in a steamboat explosion on the Great Lakes. Richard Stephenson stayed with his family in Iowa. One son, Samuel, worked the farm with his father; another son, Abel, was killed in the Civil War; and a third son, Daniel, wove blankets and coverlets in Fairfield.^{2.} Richard also continued to weave for the rest of his life. It seems clear that neither Abel nor brother Richard Stephenson, having eschewed technological advance in the woollen industry, ever really accepted Prairie farming as an alternative to cloth production.^{3.}

1. Abel Stephenson, Northampton, 18 Apr. 1840.

2. Daniel Stephenson, Fairfield, Iowa, to uncle, 18 May 1864.

3. C. Erickson, pp.235, 302.

In the first years of the 1840's, industrial depression of great severity was almost universal in the North of England. When the census of 1841 was taken, it was revealed that in the six months, January to June of that year, 1362 persons had emigrated from Lancashire and 944 from the West Riding, the two most industrialised counties. These numbers, however, though greatest in total for the English counties, represented slightly less than one per thousand of each of the two counties' total population.¹ To present a balanced picture, it must also be noted that many industrial emigrants having encountered depressed conditions in America re-crossed the Atlantic.² Nevertheless, emigration from the cloth-producing areas of the West Riding was widespread, achieved great publicity and was felt strongly in those areas, especially in villages, where the exodus was unduly high.

1. W.S. Shepperson, p.81. From Cornwall (part mining, part agricultural), 795 (or 2.3 per thousand) had emigrated, and from Sussex (all agricultural), 758 (or 2.5 per thousand).

2. Ibid., pp.81-82.

The heavy-woollen district of Dewsbury was typical of many in the years 1840-43. In early 1841, the depressed condition of the working classes in that neighbourhood was reported. A "considerable number of persons driven by poverty and fear of starvation" had emigrated to the United States during the previous year, and indeed within the past few days, 22 individuals had left Earlsheaton to make the same journey, with many more about to follow. "The whole party", it was reported, "presented a scene of misery which is rarely witnessed", for several of the children in the group were only just recovering from smallpox, a disease prevalent in the area at the time.¹ Industrial unrest came to a head in Earlsheaton in June 1842, when a reduction of about 20 per cent in blanketmakers' wages was announced, apparently caused by "some of the masters having taken a government order for a supply of blankets at too low a rate to pay the regular wages..." On hearing the news, several hundred workers of all ages, accompanied by music and the Chickenley Radical banner, called the workmen out of Little Royd Mill and paraded the streets of Dewsbury.² August 1842 witnessed Chartist riots in many manufacturing towns of the North.

1. Halifax Guardian, 6 Feb. 1841.

2. Ibid., 18 Jun. 1842.

Steady departures for America again reached a noteworthy peak in the Dewsbury area in the autumn of 1843 when "a considerable number", hoping to escape long-standing poverty and starvation at home, left Earlsheaton, some specifically for Illinois. A not-so-poor widowed member of one group, Mary Sykes, was relieved of £35 by a thief as she travelled by the Leeds and Manchester Railway on her way to Liverpool.^{1.} By the end of October, an improvement - albeit temporary - was seen in the state of Dewsbury's trade and "commerce [had] a brighter prospect [there] than for several years".^{2.}

At Horbury, down the Calder valley some four miles south-east of Dewsbury, emigration to the United States was particularly evident in the spring of 1842. About twenty families bound for New York and Philadelphia left the village at the end of March; and another twenty individuals were due to follow towards the end of April. The exodus was no doubt partly to blame for some one hundred houses then currently unoccupied.^{3.}

1. Halifax Guardian, 30 Sep. 1843; Wakefield & W.R. Herald, 6 Oct. 1843.
2. Wakefield & W.R. Herald, 27 Oct. 1843.
3. Halifax Guardian, 2, 23 Apr. 1842; Leeds Mercury, 30 Apr. 1842.

A number of families, perhaps including linen-weavers, also left Barnsley in the spring of 1842 as a result of "intense and extensive distress".^{1.}

Huddersfield, too, provided its share of emigrants in early 1842. In early March, about thirty families left the town and its neighbourhood for the United States. In the areas of Lockwood and Berry Brow, "almost the whole inhabitants" formed themselves into an emigration club, each member paying a small weekly subscription: when the funds had reached a sufficient total to send out one family, the place was balloted for and the family sent.^{2.} It does not seem likely, however, that many families achieved their aim by this not-unique method. At the beginning of April, a reported eighty persons emigrated from the Huddersfield area.^{3.} It should be also noted in passing that two Huddersfield Chartistists - Lawrence Pitkeithly (born 1801) and Christopher Tinker (born 1797) - left in 1842 for sojourns in the United States. Pitkeithly, a weaver, a leader of the anti-Poor Law movement, a delegate to the National Chartist Association meeting in Manchester in July 1840 and a

1. Halifax Guardian, 30 April, 1842.

2. Leeds Mercury, 12 Mar. 1842.

3. Halifax Guardian, 9 Apr. 1842.

member of the Chartist Conventions of 1839 and 1842, reached New York on 6th August 1842. After visiting Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Chicago, he returned home the following year, writing articles in the Northern Star.¹ Christopher Tinker, a bookseller or printer, and leading Owenite and later Chartist, also left for Milwaukee in 1842 and settled at Spring Lake, Wisconsin, where he died in 1844.²

Depression of trade also struck Bradford and outlying townships and villages to the west. In mid-July 1842, the Rev. John Winterbotham, Baptist minister and schoolmaster at Haworth - a contemporary of the Rev. Patrick Bronte, father of the novelists³ - sailed aboard the Nemesis

1. R. Boston, British Chartists in America, pp. 32, 39-40, 93-94. Pitkeithly died in Manchester, 1858.

2. Ibid., pp. 81, 95.

3. Halifax Guardian, 3 Jul. 1841; Parson & White, Directory of the Borough of Leeds...and the Clothing District of Yorkshire... (Leeds, 1830), p. 469, lists the Rev. John Winterbottom (sic.) as the assistant Baptist minister and schoolmaster at Haworth, whereas White, Directory and Topography of Borough of Leeds... (1842), pp. 370-71, lists the Rev. Patrick Bronte as incumbent of the Church of St. Michael, and Rev. Moses Saunders as Baptist minister.

from Liverpool, bound for Canada. Before leaving, friends in Bradford and elsewhere had presented him with a purse of £65, wearing apparel and books. Apart from his own family, he was accompanied by two families from Haworth, "anxious to try whether the New World will not afford more scope for the industrious and well-behaved, than the Old", and by a reported eighteen families, doubtless including a number of hand-weavers from Bradford and district. "This rage for emigration", the Leeds Mercury observed, "will not be wondered at when it is considered what distress pervades the neighbourhood. The shopkeepers generally complain of want of customers, and they are discontented, as there does not appear to them any signs of an amendment in trade".^{1.}

By early September 1842, the "worthy and excellent" Rev. Winterbotham had established himself at Brantford, U.C., and for some little time maintained a correspondence with the Bradford press. In one letter, dated 14th December 1842, he described the district in which he was now living, its local

1. Bradford Observer, 21, 28 Jul. 1842;
Leeds Mercury, 23, 30 Jul. 1842.

manufactures and, of particular interest to Bradford people, the scope afforded there to anyone "of mechanical genius" in the production of cloth:

"The country around Brantford is a fine undulating district, watered by many rivulets, on which saw mills and grist mills are erected in great plenty. There are also carding and fulling mills to prepare for, and finish the domestic manufacture of cloth for men's dresses, and also female dresses for common use, and they have no use for their wool but making it up in that manner. The mills are, to the owners, very profitable establishments, and many of them are making independent fortunes, because there is no competition, and they have their own charge for the work, and no outlay, except the mills and machinery. Any person of mechanical genius who could introduce the latest improvement in carding wool, fulling, and dyeing, would in almost any part of the country find a profitable opening for business. Paris, a village seven miles up the river, ...is likely to become a leading place for mills, as they have almost unlimited water power..."¹.

1. Bradford Observer, 24 Nov. 1842, 26 Jan. (extract of letter), 29 Jun. 1843.

Whether any Bradfordian, however, skilled in recent technological advances, actually left for that part of Upper Canada as a result of the Rev. Winterbotham's encouragement is not known.

Whilst general depression struck power-weavers and hand-weavers alike, it struck hardest at the latter whose future at best was one of steadily declining opportunities. Industrial recession, the increase in power-weaving in the late 'thirties and early 'forties and the gradual fall in hand-loom weavers' wages had compelled one such artisan to leave his wife and seven children, all aged under 11 years, in Clayton when he emigrated to America in mid-1841. He was fortunate to obtain work soon after his arrival; and by the spring of 1843, he was in employment at three times the wages he could command before leaving home, where, he claimed with some justification, "machinery has proved the ruin of the handloom weaver and will compel thousands like me to leave their native homes". Consequently, his wife sold the domestic furniture and with the proceeds, the aid of friends and a small sum sent by the husband, she left Clayton with her children on 2nd May 1843, bound for Liverpool and New York.^{1.}

Although the Clayton hand-loom weaver had left Yorkshire because of declining demand (or in depressed times, non-existent demand) for his skills and had

1. Halifax Guardian, 6 May 1843. A few hand-loom weavers were still employed in Clayton about 1852: Collinson & Co., West Riding of Yorkshire, Leicestershire and Norwich Woollen and Worsted Directory (1852), p.311.

obtained work in America at much increased wages, there is no evidence in the extract of correspondence to suggest that he was able to pursue his own vocation of hand-weaving across the Atlantic. Indeed, in many cloth-producing villages of New England, power-weaving was as widely employed as in Yorkshire, perhaps even more so when it is considered that American production at the time was mainly of woollen rather than worsted cloth. Another Bradford emigrant - R. Sugden, a young man from Idle - arrived at Leicester, Massachusetts, in early 1845. He obtained work the same day he reached Leicester "at my own trade",^{1.} working one week for \$3 and board, but Sugden was quickly pressed by his boss to learn the business of wire-drawing in the manufacture of cards. After three weeks' trial period, he was offered \$2 $\frac{1}{2}$ a week and board for six months, with the prospect of considerable advances later. Sugden wrote: at Leicester,

"there is about a dozen card makers. The cards are all made by machinery, and in a different way to what they are in England.

1. Unfortunately, the trade is unspecified.

Indeed, nearly every thing is done with less labour here; it is all 'go ahead'.... The wages generally are rather higher, and food cheaper, here than with you; consequently, the working class is in far superior circumstances, as far as I have had the opportunity of seeing.... [Although] there is a great number of cotton mills in [Massachusetts]...most of the inhabitants are employed in the woollen manufacture about here. They have first-rate machinery; they dispense with slubbers, spinners, and hand-loom weavers. There are 3 woollen mills in this valley, and they employ young ladies...to tend the power looms, and...they earn three dollars a week, and board. Most of the cloth made here is a kind of fancy cloth, similar to that made at Guiseley. I have seen some very beautiful patterns, and they appear to me to make cloth with a less amount of labour than what you do..."¹.

1. R. Sugden, Leicester, Mass., 3 May. 1845 (extract of letter in Bradford Observer, 12 Jun. 1845).

On the evidence of Sugden's initial observations, therefore, times and circumstances at Leicester were hardly propitious for Yorkshire hand-loom weavers seeking to prolong the employment of their skills.

Not all West Riding emigrants, of course, were hand-weavers or hand-combers displaced by power or the factory, nor even were they necessarily involved in the manufacture of cloth. But whatever their occupation they suffered, directly or indirectly, the effects of severe industrial recession and were well aware of the emigration fever of the 'forties. There is no evidence to suggest, for instance, that all or any of the thirteen individuals who left Halifax and district for America in early May 1842 were textile workers, though it is likely that at least one or two hoped to follow an occupation in cloth-making or -finishing across the Atlantic.¹

Moreover, the 1840's witnessed a proliferation of emigration societies of more or less communitarian character aimed, over-optimistically in many cases, at settling workers in the American Mid-West. The Albion Phalanx of Associated Emigrants

1. Halifax Guardian, 14 May 1842.

and the Democratic Cooperative Society, both London-based or - organised, and the Potter's (Joint Stock) Emigration Society were but three examples.¹ The British Temperance Emigration Society, organised in December 1842, was based in Liverpool. Branches were later established, however, in Leeds, Sheffield, London, Worcester and at other towns in the Midlands; and most of its membership seems to have been in the West Riding, especially in the Leeds area. A lecture given by Mr. Gorst, of Liverpool, secretary of the Society, in the Bazaar, Briggate, Leeds, on 13th March 1844, was attended by about 250 persons. By the time the Society collapsed in 1848, upwards of 600 may have been sent to the Society's estates in Dane County, Wisconsin.²

A Halifax-based emigration society is of particular interest in this period, though,

1. W.S. Shepperson, pp.74, 95-98, 112; Michael Brook, "Joseph Barker and The People, The True Emigrant's Guide", Thoresby Miscellany, vol. 13 (Thoresby Soc. Pubs., vol. 36: Leeds, 1963), 359.
2. W.S. Shepperson, p.74; M. Brook, 359; Leeds Mercury, 16 Mar. 1844.

as far as is known, no members ever crossed the Atlantic under its auspices.^{1.} The West-Riding Emigrants' Mutual Aid Society was established in Halifax in September 1842, "with a view of Purchasing in Shares 10,240 Acres of Land, in one of the Western States of North America, and of forming a Colony to consist of 200 or 300 Families from our own Localities.

The Plan of the Society offers facilities alike advantageous both to Capitalists and Labourers, particularly as regards the expenses of getting out, smoothing their passage, and of ensuring their final successful settlement in their new home...." Those who wished to emigrate were recommended by the advertisement "to form Branch Societies throughout the District to act in unison with "the central body. Rules of the Society could be obtained from "Mr. E. Crabtree, Honorary Secretary, No. 3, Broad-street, Halifax". The Halifax Guardian, in whose columns the advertisement appeared, observed: "We have lately called attention to the folly of going to America without proper knowledge and adequate preparation; but this West-Riding Society seems fully to provide the requisites for a successful emigration".^{2.}

1. M. Brook, 360.

2. Halifax Guardian, 10 Sep. 1842.

Shortly afterwards, branches were opened in Manchester, London and other cities, and the Society changed its name more appropriately to the British Emigrants' Mutual Aid Society. The Society's plan was to procure 20,480 acres - incidentally, twice the original acreage - and to divide the tract in a western state into lots of ten acres for family settlement. The programme of the Society was formulated by Lawrence Pitkeithly, the prominent Huddersfield 'physical force' Chartist and worker in the 'Ten Hours' Movement, whose recent visit to the United States had included Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and in Chicago, a meeting with Allan Pinkerton, the expatriate Glasgow Chartist of later detective-agency fame.¹ In addition to Pitkeithly, the B.E.M.A.S.'s committee consisted of: Jabez Todd, "grocer, Upperhead Row, Huddersfield", who in 1850 was reported as having "absconded" to America owing money;² Joseph Nicholson, "Printer, Grove-street",

1. R. Boston, British Chartists in America, pp.93-94; W.S. Shepperson, p.74. In 1843, Pitkeithly was described as a "Merchant, Burton road, Huddersfield" (Halifax Free Press, 22 Apr. 1843).
2. Halifax Free Press, 22 Apr. 1843; Northern Star, 27 May, 1843; Leeds Times, 20 Jul. 1850. Todd died in Wisconsin, 16 September 1864 (Halifax Guardian, 22 Oct. 1864).

and William Haigh, "Gent, Wade-street, Halifax"; Thomas Bewley, Quaker and "Gent., Setmurthy, near Cockermouth"; and Elijah Crabtree, "Agent, Broad-street, Halifax".^{1.} The Committee were robbed of the services of George Holey whose untimely death from cholera occurred at the age of 25 on 4th September 1843, at St. Louis, Missouri.^{2.}

1. Halifax Free Press, 1, 22 Apr. 1843; M. Brook, 34 On. Crabtree, like Pitkeithly, was a Chartist and 'Ten Hours' advocate.
2. Leeds Mercury, 11 Nov. 1843; Halifax Guardian, 18 Nov. 1843. It seems likely that Holey, described as "pioneer of the British Emigrants' Mutual Aid Society", was Elijah Crabtree's son-in-law. It is uncertain, however, whether he emigrated specifically to further the Society's aims or had left Halifax (with his wife?) independently before the W.R.E.M.A.S. had been established in September 1842. In February 1844, Crabtree requested J.B. Newhall (of Burlington, Iowa, but on a visit to Manchester) to answer a string of questions about suitable locations for settlement:

"These questions were sent, last August [1843], to my son-in-law, then resident at St. Louis, State of Missouri, desiring him to obtain the desired information from the United States Government Agent resident in that city, and also to transmit a copy of them to you, in order to procure... information...relative to...Iowa, in addition to that obtained through your interesting little work entitled 'Sketches of Iowa'.

This attempt was, however, frustrated by an afflictive interposition of divine providence; my son-in-law being removed by death before my letter had reached its destination...":

E. Crabtree, Halifax, to J.B. Newhall, Manchester, 28 Feb. 1844 (reprinted in Halifax Free Press, 4 Apr. 1844). John B. Newhall was the author of Sketches of Iowa, or the Emigrant's Guide (New York, 1841) and The British Emigrants' Hand Book and Guide to the New States of America... (London, 1844).

The aims of the B.E.M.A.S. and matters relating to emigration were publicised extensively in the Radical Halifax Free Press in 1843-44.¹ Information was obtained from George Flower, of Albion, Illinois, and residents of Iowa and Wisconsin about settlement there. Arrangements were made with the American consul in Liverpool to transfer the Society's land-purchase fund to America.²

Apart from the questionnaire presented by Crabtree to Newhall and the latter's exhaustive reply,³ perhaps the most revealing correspondence published in the Halifax Free Press as part of the propaganda campaign of the B.E.M.A.S. and in Joseph Barker's The People⁴; was from John Noble, of Rochester, Wisconsin. Noble emigrated with his wife and eight or nine children from Rastrick in mid-1841, settling at Rochester, "31 miles from Milwalkie", the following year; and in 1842, he was joined by one of his sons, Josh, and family from Rastrick.

1. Halifax Free Press, 1, 8, 15, 22 Apr., 23 Sep. 1843, 4 Apr. 1844.
2. W.S. Shepperson, p.74.
3. Halifax Free Press, 4 Apr. 1844.
4. The People, 11, No. 74 (cited by M. Brook, 359).

In his first letter (from New York), John Noble recounted to his son how he and Starkey^{1.} had left that city in September 1841 and had travelled by way of Albany, the Erie Canal route to Buffalo, thence by Lake Erie to Detroit, and steamer by Lakes Huron and Michigan to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Surveying inland from Milwaukee:

"...we found a very pleasant open country, consisting of Oak openings and partly Prairie, the Oak openings is land which is very thinly wooded, with a tree here and there. Prime land has no wood at all on it, and is the richest soil I ever saw, the depth varied from one foot to seven feet of thick black soil..."

In the neighbourhood of Rochester:

"...we marked 10 lots of 40 acres each as our choice, at 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ dol. per acre. We also agreed with a man for 80 acres more, at 3 dols. per acre, partly fenced, and agreed with the same person to erect each of us a house on the said 80 acres, to be ready for us in spring [1842], as we cannot conveniently get our families up from New York until April [1842]. We only paid

1. The 'Starkey' referred to was perhaps George Starkey, noted at Louisville, Kentucky, in March 1852. He was brother of Hannah Starkey (who died at Louisville) and son of the late William Starkey of Fenton Square, Huddersfield, formerly of Marsh House, Marsh, Huddersfield (Halifax Guardian, 22 May 1852).

for two of the 40 acre lots, because we did not take our money with us, but we intend taking the other lots in spring, so that we shall have in all 240 acres each of the best land I ever saw..."

Like Abel Stephenson, Noble believed that the acquisition of land should be the all-important motive for emigration:

"My opinion is getting stronger every day", he continued, "that I had rather be in England, and that land is the only thing worth coming for...; and as regards persons coming, I will give no advice at all, only to advise those who will have no money when they get here, not to come at all..."¹.

After making their purchase in Wisconsin, Noble and Starkey returned to winter in New York; but the following spring, they set out westwards again, this time with their families, arriving at Rochester in May 1842. John Noble invested in a further 396 acres, very rich land, with "the appearance of a gentleman's park, except the stately mansion. There is abundance of fish in Fox river, which my land joins". For living accommodation,

1. John Noble, N.Y., to son, Restrict, Yorkshire, 24 Nov. 1841 (extract in Halifax Free Press, 15 Apr. 1843).

"we have a frame house 15 feet by 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and are going to build another 21 by 18 feet, two stories high, with an outshed 16 feet square, one story..." On land already prepared, Noble and Starkey sowed wheat, Indian corn, oats and potatoes; and milk was obtained from two cows, recently calved. "We have every prospect of doing well, and we all like well and are thankful that we left England..." The advantages of having a large family were obvious - "I have got into a country where children are a blessing" - and the family itself was not too far removed from local society: "We have about 12 or 14 houses within a mile around us, and a village which contains from 30 to 40 houses three miles off. The inhabitants are very social and kind, they are principally from the old states..." One drawback was the lack of money, the farmers having sunk most of their ready cash into land, but matters would improve as the land came to fruition. Lastly, Noble wished "all our relations were here with a piece of land", but , he reiterated

"I cannot give any encouragement for any person to come, unless he has some money when he gets here..."¹.

In October 1842, John Noble wrote to William Bottomley in reply to the latter's letter of 3rd August, carried from Rastrick by Noble's son, Josh.² Bottomley had posed many questions about land purchase and quality of acreage. John Noble had purchased yet more land, 40 acres, making in total 676 acres, had acquired (more) cows, horses, oxen and pigs, and was planning to move his family into the new 21 by 18-foot house. The time of Noble and his family was well occupied: "I assure you we are, and have been, very busy since we came. We have now lost that complaint which we left behind us, and which trouble you yet, - that is, want of work. I am differently situated from what I was when with you; and I am very thankful that I ever left England. I have not yet forgot the skits and slurs which was thrown at me before I came away; but let them skit and groan whilst I laugh at them. I consider that I am well paid for all the trouble and expense I

1. John Noble, Rochester, Wisc., to "a friend", Brighouse, Yorkshire, 18 Jun. 1842 (extract in Halifax Free Press, 15 Apr. 1843).
2. Josh Noble reached Rochester, Wisc., with his family, 5 Oct. 1842.

have been at, and which has been no little...."

The locality was rapidly filling with people, many from Yorkshire, who were breaking new ground:

"When I came here in 1841, and bought the land we are building upon, there was only two houses for some miles; since then, nearly all that part has been purchased; and I think there are upwards of twenty families settling there, from the neighbourhood of Huddersfield;^{1.}

and they all tell me it is the finest country they ever saw. They, like myself, was agreeably deceived; they live within a mile or two from where I am going to reside..."^{2.}

Mary Browne was another whose correspondence gained notice in the Halifax Free Press as part of the B.E.M.A.S's publicity. From her letter written at the beginning of 1843, it

1. One of the settlers was probably Joah Drake who died at Rochester, Wisc., 24 Oct. 1843, aged 47. Joah was the eldest son of the late Joseph Drake, of Honley, nr. Huddersfield (Halifax Guardian, 20 Jan. 1844; Bredford Observer, 25 Jan. 1844). Parson & White, Directory of the Borough of Leeds....and the Clothing District of Yorkshire... (Leeds, 1830), p.480. lists Joseph Drake as a grocer at Honley.
2. John Noble, Rochester, Wisc., to William Bottomley, Round Hill, Rastrick, 10 Oct. 1842 (printed in Halifax Free Press, 23 Sep. 1843).

appears that she had emigrated to Rochester with her brothers, Richard^{1.} and Thomas, sister Elizabeth, and probably another five members of the family. The Brownes do not seem to have been quite as affluent as John Noble, and were pleased to hear that "the money which brother George [still in England] is so good as to say he will advance to pay for our land we shall for ever be obliged to him for; it has set our minds at rest on a subject of such importance, and it must be paid for in cash, and, there is none to be got for labour..." Indeed, the shortage of money was illustrated by Thomas's labour in a brick-yard being recompensed by a cow in calf. "We shall be very glad when our money arrives", wrote Mary, "as we have not got stock to trade with yet". Thomas made bricks, Richard was cutting wood on government land, Elizabeth was apparently a servant; and Richard was also making wooden furniture. But with the influx of settlers, Rochester was beginning to develop. The first settlers in the neighbourhood were selling their land at three times the original purchase price, and then buying more land. It was

1. Alternatively, Richard may have been Mary Browne's husband.

expected that there would be great demand for land in the summer of 1843: many had written to their friends in England to go to Wisconsin, and it seemed that no one regretted the move from the Old World. Rochester had acquired two more stores, an iron foundry had been established and a cloth mill was to be erected in the spring of 1843. That part of Wisconsin, it was stressed, could no longer be equated with seclusion:

"There has been a deal of visiting amongst the English about us, they have a band of music amongst them and always have a dance..."¹.

Although the British Emigrants' Mutual Aid Society succumbed during the relatively prosperous years of the mid-1840's,² other potential emigrants in the West Riding were doubtless heartened by the publicity emanating from the Society and from Yorkshire settlers already in the Mid-West. One of the more important of the groups to emigrate from the Halifax area consisted of some eighty individuals who left the town on 18th April 1844. Sailing from Liverpool four days later, the party reached New York on 26th/27th

1. Mary Browne, Rochester, Wisc., to Mother, 1 Jan. 1843 (printed in Halifax Free Press, 22 Apr. 1843).

2. W.S. Shepperson, p.74.

May and Wisconsin in early July. Before leaving, one of the emigrants, James Bancroft, had been a dispenser of medicines at Halifax General Infirmary for about twenty years, and he was furnished by the medical officers there with a purse of £20 and a testimonial recording his valuable services, exemplary conduct and the fact that "he was leaving Europe against the entreaties and wishes of the committee and medical officers of the institution, accompanied by offers of increased stipend..."¹

Bancroft's early experiences in and impressions of America - as reported to a daughter, still in Halifax, in a letter of early 1845 - were mixed. As he and the party were voyaging up the Hudson, Bancroft was injured in the legs by the accidental discharge of a shot-gun, his wounds taking three weeks to heal. Once in Wisconsin he bought "80 acres of land for £50, and built a good house upon it; we have 2 cows and yoke of oxen; we have got three acres sown with wheat and are now fencing it in," but in doing so, his funds were "nearly spent, and I am not like a many settlers, who have friends in England that can remit them sums of money from time to time".

1. Halifax Guardian, 20 Apr., 20 Jul. 1844.

Although the land in time would certainly be fruitful, it is not surprising that, as a druggist-turned-farmer, Bancroft was pessimistic in his new situation. Scattered throughout his letter are statements such as: "How long ——— will remain with us I cannot tell, but if they all leave us, I will return if possible; the people about here are almost all English. There are a many difficulties to meet in a new country like this, the winters are long and severe"; and, "Give my best respects to ———...I often wish I was in his company instead of being as here in a wild wilderness"; and again, "there is no fear of any one starving here for want of food, but there are a many inconveniences which I cannot describe on paper. I would not advise any one to come to America who are doing well at home. I think I have discovered how it is that so many speak so well of this country, when perhaps they have left their own for some misdemeanour and obliged to stay here...the business of farming is done in a very slovenly manner...."¹.

1. James Bancroft, English Settlement, Wisc., to daughter, Halifax, 16 Jan. 1845 (extracts in Halifax Guardian, 26 Apr. 1845).

It seems likely that James Bancroft never settled fully to the pioneer farming life and that he returned to Halifax perhaps by the late 1840s.¹ Yet members of his family lived on in Wisconsin. Sarah, his youngest daughter, married into John Noble's family, and died at Dover, Racine County, 15th February 1882, aged 53;² and a son, the Rev. William Bancroft, died at Rochester, Wisconsin, 18 Apr 1887, aged 66.³

The industrial centres of West Yorkshire witnessed for two, perhaps three years, in the mid-1840s a relative abatement of recession, but by 1846, deep gloom and distress had returned to many.

1. One James Bancroft is noted as being property-rated in 1848, and two in 1852. The Burgess Roll of the Borough of Halifax (Leyland & Son, Corn Market, Halifax, May 1848), p.43, lists a James Bancroft at Ellen royd, Northowram Township, North Ward; and Ibid., (Oct. 1852), pp.23, 49, lists a James Bancroft at No. 4 Barum top, Halifax Township, Market Ward, and another at No. 46, Gibbet Street, Halifax Township, North West Ward. (Both sources are in the Horsfall Turner Collection, L.639/352, L.780/352, Halifax Public Library).
2. Halifax Guardian, 25 Mar. 1882.
3. Ibid., 21 May 1887.

During the second half of 1845, Bradford's staple wool trade had pursued an uncertain path, with large numbers of combers, spinners and weavers only partially employed. In February 1846, many were thrown out of work by "the temporary suspension of the extensive works of the Messrs. Rouse", and became dependent upon the poor rates or upon the charity of those more fortunate. Woolcombers were doubly unfortunate in that, like the hand-weavers over a more protracted period, they were the victims not only of trade recession but also of rapid technological advances overtaking their traditional means of production.¹ At the beginning of March, after a preliminary meeting at the Bradford Court House (Hall Ings), circulars soliciting help were distributed to 93 merchants, manufacturers and other influential citizens. W.E. Foster (of later 1870 Education Act fame) acquired a list of 888 operatives - with their families amounting to 3,800 persons - for whom unemployment had brought great distress. Many families were by now dependent solely upon the mill-wages of one child; and others had no visible

1. The plight of the hand woolcombers and their possible means of escape by emigration are considered at length in Part 4, 2 (c).

means of support at all. Yet others were on the verge of starvation. By mid-March, a subscription of about £250 had been increased to £814, and the Guardians of the Poor were recommended to increase relief; and by the end of the month, £1,600 had been subscribed, 300 families were relieved with bread, and a number were employed on public works. In April 1846, numbers applying to the Relief Committee increased steadily and a soup kitchen was operating three days a week. About one-quarter of the funds at the disposal of the Relief Committee had been expended; some 500 persons were employed six hours a day for wages of 1s0d.; and additional aid in the form of bread and soup was furnished for large families. Moreover, 200 to 300 non-working families were given bread and soup in relief. It was reported that, although Rouse's factory would soon recommence work under a manager appointed by the Court of Chancery, other spinners were reducing their number of workers, and some works had ceased production. In May, about 450 men were still employed by the Committee, and bread and soup were continuing to be distributed in large quantities. Ominously, the funds from the subscriptions were only sufficient for a further three weeks' relief. In June, about 300 families (or a thousand individuals) were yet in a state of near destitution.^{1.}

1. Bradford Observer, 26 Feb., 5, 12, 19, 26 Mar., 9, 16 Apr., 14 May, 18 Jun. 1846.

Matters were little better in nearby towns and villages. "Great scarcity of work and consequent distress" were reported from Yeadon, with great numbers unable to find employment. Extreme cases of destitution were eased by subscription and oatmeal was being distributed to the needy.¹ Many hand-loom weavers were unemployed in Clayton township, where "scores of weavers might be seen wending their way with empty pokes..after having delivered in their work, and their countenances bespoke the distress they were in from the anticipation of nothing but destitution staring them in the face".² At Ripponden, six or seven families (or about 30 individuals), hitherto "respectable operatives" mainly employed by Edwards and Sons, decided to escape uncertain industrial conditions at home by leaving for America and Michigan at the end of April 1846.³

Halifax appears to have escaped the worst of West Riding recession in 1846. In October 1847, however, worsening distress was observed, "principally", it was believed, "through the increased use of cotton

1. Halifax Guardian, 4 Apr. 1846.
2. Ibid., 18 Apr. 1846.
3. Ibid., 2 May 1846.

in the Halifax fabrics". Many mills in the area were operating only short-time hours; others offered no work at all; and "though not suffering perhaps to the same extent as the operative cotton spinners of Lancashire, still the unemployed... are enduring great privations..." Relief followed a pattern already familiar in Bradford: subscriptions were received by a Relief Committee from merchants and manufacturers, the fund by early December standing at £1,300. At nearby Ovenden township, where even in October, John Bold's mill had not been offering work for three months, a meeting was held at the Talbot Inn, Illingworth, at the end of November to arrange a subscription list for relief. About 50 heads of families were set on repairing the roads, and food was handed out to a few widows and to those longest unemployed. Distress, it was noted, was worst among the hand-loom weavers and hand-combers in the township, many of whom were also suffering from influenza. Although by January 1848 employment prospects were brighter in the lower parts of Ovenden, hand-weavers and - combers, "these sorely tried persons", in the upper part were actually experiencing an increasing inability to procure work. Distress was also increasing in Sowerby.^{1.}

1. Halifax Guardian, 30 Oct., 6, 27 Nov., 4, 11, 18 Dec., 1847, 8 Jan. 1848.

From this background of depressed trade, eighteen individuals left Halifax in mid-February 1848 for Liverpool, "to seek (if haply they may find) better times in America". In Bolton, similar conditions prompted a meeting of delegates of the operative cotton spinners of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire and Derbyshire to propose the raising of funds to enable surplus hands to emigrate to the United States: a weekly subscription of 2d. a head was reckoned to be sufficient to allow 320 emigrants to depart annually.^{1.}

Bradford's distress arising from recession and unemployment in the wool trade in 1845-46, though perhaps easing slightly during the second half of 1846, nevertheless reappeared with even greater misery in the following year. All sectors of local wool (predominantly worsted) manufacture suffered to a greater or lesser degree, but those engaged in hand-weaving and hand-combing suffered the most. Hand-weaving had been a declining skill for many years, but the impact of the machine-comb was far more sudden, devastating and socially distressing. By the very immediacy of its introduction, the substitution of machine for hand posed social problems for several years to which there was no ready answer.

1. Bradford Observer, 17 Feb. 1848; Halifax Guardian, 19 Feb. 1848.

One palliative, perhaps the most important in the eyes, and under the leadership of the Bradford Observer - that of emigration - is worthy of more detailed consideration.^{1.}

By November 1847, it was reported that "the destitution and distress at present existing among the operatives of [Bradford] is truly appalling, and pauperism is daily on the increase". Indeed, ".....several families...., who, being driven to desperation by the long-continued want of employment, and not knowing how to meet the approaching rent day, have emptied their cottages of the furniture and submitted it [to] the hammer, and with the proceeds of the sale have emigrated to America. In the town of Bradford alone there are at present no fewer than 1500 houses unoccupied.^{2.} At Clayton, hand-loom weavers who had been in dire straits in the spring of 1846 were in no better position in 1848, some of them having been without work for months.^{3.}

No doubt prompted to emigrate partly by depressed conditions in the wool trade and partly by the desire to join son(s) or daughter(s) in America, John Moore, a well-established worsted spinner, manufacturer and machine-maker at Holroyd Mill, Morton, near Bingley,

1. See part 4, 2 (c), passim.

2. Halifax Guardian, 13 Nov. 1847.

3. Ibid., 18 Apr. 1846; Wakefield & W.R. Herald, 2 Jun. 1848.

appears to have left Yorkshire about 1848 for the Mid-West.^{1.} Settling with his family at Oak Creek, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, he died there, 5th November 1852, aged 57.^{2.}

John Moore also may have been a contemporary and acquaintance of William Maud, another worsted spinner and manufacturer of Bingley, who died at Oak Creek, 11th January 1867, aged 68.^{3.}

1. Harry Speight, Chronicles and Stories of Bingley and District (London, 1904), p.335. John Moore is not listed in Parson & White, Directory of the Borough of Leeds...York, and the Clothing District of Yorkshire. (1830), p.223, under "Morton, Parish of Bingley", but is to be found in W. White, Directory... (1842), p.507; and (1847), p.528.
2. Bradford Observer, 9 Dec. 1852; Halifax Guardian, 11 Dec. 1852; Leeds Mercury, 11 Dec. 1852. William, the son of John Moore, also died at Oak Creek, Wisconsin, 26 Aug 1854, aged 38, from cholera (Bradford Observer, 12 Oct. 1854).
3. Bradford Observer, 21 Feb. 1867; Halifax Guardian, 23 Feb. 1867. William Maud is listed under "Bingley" in Baines, History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York (Leeds, 1822), I. p.144; Parson & White, Directory of the Borough of Leeds...York, and the Clothing District of Yorkshire (1830), p.222; White, Directory... (1837), I, p.681 (at No. 194, Main Street, Bingley); but not in White, Directory... (1842).

In some respects, the position of the hand-weaver of linen cloth in Nidderdale was somewhat different from that of his counterpart in the Bradford and Halifax worsted industry in the late 1840s. Whilst the linen-weaver was not immune from the widespread depression of 1837-44 and the late 1840s, his position was not undermined technologically until the gradual introduction of power from about 1850 onwards.¹ Walton and Company, for example, the largest linen manufacturer in Knaresborough, employed 423 workers, including 272 men, in 1851, and most of these were handloom weavers. Even though the hand-weaver was gradually replaced by the power-weaver, Waltons still employed many of the former in several Knaresborough workshops

1. The delayed appearance of an efficient power-loom for linen centred on difficulties arising from the inelasticity of yarn, ultimately countered by a special warp dressing; and even tension was maintained by the use of a vibrating roller. Hand-weavers continued to produce the finer linen cloths whereas the power-loom produced the heavy fabrics (The Pateley Bridge Local History Tutorial Class (B. Jennings, ed.), A History of Nidderdale, p.254).

in the 1870s. As late as 1897, the firm could describe itself as "linen manufacturers by hand and power". In upper Nidderdale, perhaps surprisingly, the hand-weaver's livelihood was undermined earlier. Hampsthwaite and Birstwith possessed 43 hand-loom weavers in 1841, but only five in 1861; and between Hampsthwaite and Pateley Bridge, numbers fell from about 300 to 73 in the same period.¹ It may well therefore have been the fear rather than the actuality of the introduction of the linen power-loom, as well as industrial depression and infection by 'emigration fever', which induced many artisans (and farm labourers)² to leave "the scene of their nativity in this romantic vale in

1. Pateley Bridge Loc. Hist. Tut. Class, A History of Nidderdale, pp.254-55.

2. For the plight of unemployed farm labourers at Spofforth in early 1845, and the £5 premium offered by Joseph Dent of Ribston(e) Hall to poor families living in Hunsingore and Walsford wishing to emigrate, see: Bradford Observer, 30 Jan. 1845; Yorkshire Gazette, 10 May 1845.

the hope of bettering their condition in the 'far west'" in spring 1848.¹

The passage westwards, however, could be fraught with danger. The Omega, a vessel of 1,277 tons, sailed from Liverpool for New York on 16th January 1848 with a general cargo and human complement comprising either "315 passengers" or "336 emigrants". Shortly after reaching the Atlantic and in danger of foundering, the vessel was abandoned and the passengers transferred to the Barbara and Aurora. By a tragic twist of fate, nearly 200 subsequently perished when the Barbara was wrecked on the American coast, and the Omega was later seen "perfectly sound", but unmanned, drifting with the currents some 80 miles west of the Scilly Lights. Bradford was certainly represented in the passenger list, though the number reported varied from "several persons" to "the bulk of the unfortunate people who perished were natives" of the town. George Flinn, late of Bradford, on behalf of 170 passengers signed an address presented to Capt. Scott of the Aurora "in grateful acknowledgement of his noble exertions".²

1. Harrogate Advertiser, 6 May 1848; Bradford Observer, 11 May 1848.

2. Bradford Observer, 13 Apr. 1848; Doncaster Gazette, 28 Apr. 1848.

The Ocean Monarch disaster also produced tragic consequences for emigrants from the manufacturing areas of West Yorkshire and (probably) Lancashire, and from Ireland.¹ The Ocean Monarch, an American ship of 1,300 tons, of Train's Line of Boston packets, recently out of Liverpool, was destroyed by fire off the North Wales coast on 24th August 1848. Initial reports recorded that about 100 out of some 360 crew and emigrants had been lost, but these figures were soon amended to 178 "missing" out of a total of 396.² Some small indication of the many types of people hoping for better things in America in 1848 may be gleaned from the precise details given of certain West Yorkshire passengers who survived or perished in the disaster.

James Taylor and his wife Mary Ann, for example, had lived in Crab Lane, Chapel Lane, Armley, Leeds, until late 1847. Mr. Taylor, though formerly an overlooker of power-looms in the employ of Clapham & Co., stuff manufacturers, of Dyer Street, had at the time been out of work for three months and decided to try his fortune

1. M.A. Jones, Destination America (London, 1976), p.71, notes that, perhaps contrary to the public image, several thousand pounds in gold were found on Irish bodies after the disaster.
2. Leeds Mercury, 26 Aug., 2 Sep. 1848.

across the Atlantic. The home was broken up, and Mrs. Taylor and their two children went to live with her widowed mother at No. 1 Victoria Place, Buslingthorp Lane, Burmantofts. James, now comfortably settled in America, sent for his wife and family to join him and their berths were booked unfortunately on the Ocean Monarch. Mrs. Taylor (aged 24) was saved and returned to Leeds, but the two children, Ann (aged 4) and George (nearly 2) were drowned.^{1.} Whether Mary Ann braved the deep a second time or James Taylor returned to Yorkshire is not known.

Another Leeds group, made up of several related parties, comprised: Mrs. Blamire, the widow of a former leather-seller and shoemaker in Liverpool, but latterly residing with her brother, Thomas Chadwick, woollen-draper and tailor, of Bridge Street, Leeds; Sarah Somersgill (aged 17), a maker of artificial flowers, and the daughter of a late pattern-dyer of Sussex Street,

1. Leeds Mercury, 2 Sep. 1848; John Mayhall, The Annals of Yorkshire.... (Leeds, ca. 1866), I, p.567, describes Mrs. Taylor's loss, but dates the Ocean Monarch disaster as 25 Aug. 1848.

Bank; and Edward Neeson (aged 19) and his sister Jane (aged 17). Jane was also a maker of artificial flowers, and Edward, a press-setter like his father, who lived at No. 44, Marsh Lane, and was employed by Briggs and Sunderland, dyers, of School Close. All were sailing in the Ocean Monarch to join friends already settled in America, and all survived to return to Leeds, except Jane Neeson who was missing, feared drowned.^{1.}

A young man named Tomlinson, with parents residing at No. 41 Chatham Street, Leeds, survived, but others were not so fortunate. John Atkinson, a joiner and builder, formerly of North Street, Leeds, said to have left his creditors "in the lurch", was reported lost; and William Fawson and Jane Roberts, son and daughter of Joseph Parson of the White Lion Inn, Quarry Hill, Leeds, both perished and were buried at Birkenhead.^{2.}

1. Leeds Mercury, 2 Sep. 1848.

2. Ibid., 2, 9, 23 Sep. 1848.

Another John Atkinson, a stone merchant from Clayton, near Bradford, was lost,^{1.} as was probably Betty Swallow, the friend of George Walker, of Jackson Bridge, Holmfirth. John Sheard, a former resident of Lockwood, near Huddersfield, was safe.^{2.}

The Ocean Monarch disaster also took its toll of Sheffield emigrants. William Jackson (aged 30), a pawnbroker, of Pinstone Street, Sheffield, sailed with his wife (also 30), and their three children, Elizabeth (5), William (3) and Richard (1). For some time it was feared that all five had perished, and indeed the body of Elizabeth was washed ashore at Hoylake. The sole survivor, the father, was fortunate to be picked up by the Sea Queen about three and a-half hours after the fire started aboard the Ocean Monarch, and he was taken to New York. From Boston, he recounted his tragic loss and the care and attention given him aboard the rescue vessel by the

1. Halifax Guardian, 23 Sep. 1848. White, Directory of Leeds and Clothing District... (1842), p.369, lists John Atkinson as a farmer and quarry owner at Clayton.

2. Leeds Mercury, 2, 23 Sep. 1848.

Netherwood family from Leeds.^{1.} Leaving his wife at home, James Booker, a farmer from Bent's Green (or Hill Top), Ecclesall, Sheffield, sailed with his son Edwin and daughter Mary (aged about 27). Mary Booker escaped by having a rope tied round her waist and by her brother on board lowering her into the water, and the father received badly scorched hands, but all were rescued in the

1. Sheffield Mercury, 2 Sep. 1848; Leeds Mercury, 9 Sep., 28 Oct. 1848; Doncaster Gazette, 27 Oct. 1848. The Netherwood family referred to may have been that of J. Netherwood, who emigrated to the United States in the autumn of 1848. J. Netherwood wrote to Benj. Barker, snr., the brother of Joseph Barker (emigration propagandist, publisher, printer, etc.) encouraging only those with £200 capital to go to America. Joseph Barker recommended that emigrants might stay a night or two in New York with "Joseph Netherwood, 353, 10th Street, who will accommodate you, direct you to another place, or direct you as to your route". Joseph Netherwood was visited by Joseph Barker in New York on the latter's American visit of 1849. Joseph Netherwood was working as a labourer but taking in boarders; and he informed Barker that many Easterners and immigrants were making their way to Wisconsin and Iowa (Michael Brook, "Joseph Barker and The People...", 346-47, 351, 369-70). This may also have been the Joseph Netherwood, formerly a cloth-finisher in Leeds (West End) who died in New York, 10 February 1850, from ship fever, caught from a friend, Mrs. Esther Dyson, who had recently emigrated from Leeds on the Caleb Grimshaw and had stayed with the Netherwoods on reaching New York. Joseph Netherwood's wife died the following day from the same cause (Leeds Mercury, 9 Mar. 1850; Hull Advertiser, 15 Mar. 1850).

end by the Affonso and returned to land.^{1.}

Undeterred by the maritime disasters of 1848 involving the loss of emigrants from the northern industrial areas, many continued to cross the Atlantic in the hope of bettering their conditions. In late 1848, it was reported that because of severe unemployment, many were leaving Ashton and neighbourhood for America.^{2.} This exodus was still taking place in May 1849: many mill operatives were leaving Ashton; five families left Dukinfield; and "many operative spinners [were] preparing to leave[for the United States] owing to their being thrown out of work by having their jennies coupled".^{3.}

Distress in Bradford continued with little or no abatement, especially for hand-woolcombers, in the years 1849-50.^{4.}

1. Sheffield Mercury, 2 Sep. 1848; Leeds Mercury, 9 Sep. 1848.

2. Halifax Guardian, 16 Dec. 1848. The 'Ashton' referred to is presumably Ashton-under-Lyne.

3. Halifax Guardian, 19 May 1849.

4. Bradford Observer, 1849-50, passim.

In Todmorden, 1850 witnessed a protracted period of unemployment and industrial bitterness. In March, many Todmorden mills were stopped or running short-time.¹ At the end of April, the weavers of John and Ashton Stansfield, of Lineholm(e), Todmorden, left their work to resist a reduction of wages and, as a reprisal, the firm locked its gates throwing all hands out of work. Some families were fortunate in obtaining other work. Two weeks later, weavers of John and W. Barker, of B(e)arwise Mill, turned out to resist a similar reduction of wages.² With trade very slack in Todmorden, some were "fleeing" to an already depressed Bradford, others into Lancashire and doubtless yet a few others to Liverpool berths for America.³ Weavers formerly employed by Stansfields and Barkers were still on strike (or locked-out) in mid-June: singing and collecting alms in Todmorden, they were also well supported on the road towards Hebden Bridge. Stansfields

1. Halifax Guardian, 23 Mar. 1850.

2. The firms of J. & A. Stansfield and J. & W. Barker are both listed as "cotton spinners and manufacturers" in Todmorden in: White, Directory...of Leeds, Bradford...Clothing Districts of the West Riding of Yorkshire (1847), p.484.

3. Halifax Guardian, 18 May 1850.

offered to give $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per cut more than was offered at the time of the walk-out, but this was declined.^{1.} Towards the end of June, the head of the Lancashire police was apparently induced to refuse processions by the strikers, for the Todmorden police gave notice to this effect. Irrespective of possible consequences, a meeting of operatives chose to ignore the warnings. The strikers walked through Todmorden towards Bacup where they were met by a large force of police. Instructions had been issued by Todmorden and Bacup magistrates to the police and turn-outs that if any of the last asked for subscriptions, they were to be arrested. The strikers crossed Bacup, received those alms offered, and returned to Todmorden without molestation.^{2.} At the suggestion of John Stansfield, the dispute was put to arbitration, with one representative, John Fielden of Ewood Mill, for the weavers, and James

1. Halifax Guardian, 15 Jun. 1850.

2. Ibid., 22, 29 Jun. 1850.

Gaulkrodger for the masters. The weavers, however, refused to accept the findings of arbitration on the grounds that the two arbitrators had not provided a list of prices from named manufacturers in the area, as demanded by the strikers, and it was therefore impossible in effect to compare the rates received from their late employers with those granted by others. Moreover, Stensfields' strikers claimed that they had to pay 9d. for every hand brush and 1s.0d. for every heald brush used, an imposition not found elsewhere in the neighbourhood. The weavers from the firm of J. & W. Barker, for their part, revealed that they had been charged for temples 1s.6d. fortnightly for the previous eight years, and that any weaver arriving late for work by even a fraction of a minute was fined at least 1s.0d., and often sent home. In July, there was another turn-out, this time by those employed by Lawrence Wilson, bobbin manufacturer, of Cornholme, Todmorden, occasioned by the management's refusal to honour the custom by which boys were hired to learn the trade at a stipulated sum for the first year, and then to receive an increase of 1s.0d. yearly - only 6d.

being offered.^{1.} The strike dragged on throughout the summer into August and September. Some weavers sought work in the neighbouring textile towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and others sought improved circumstances overseas. For those distressed strikers remaining in Todmorden, a solidarity of purpose brought some consolation. Those on strike received alms from those workers able to give. In nearby Burnley, five Todmorden weavers seeking sympathy and charity were charged with vagrancy by the magistrates, but were released with the help of a Manchester solicitor on the plea that the weavers were receiving, not soliciting subscriptions. Donations for the fifteenth week of the strike, in mid-August, amounted to £42.16s.7d., for the nineteenth week, to £51.12s.3½d., and for the twentieth week, to £53.10s.3½d. In September, the firms of Stansfield and Barker requested the weavers to make fresh proposals, but the operatives were adamant that their earlier claims were justified. An attempt to break the impasse was made later that month when two twisters and an overlooker visited operatives' homes in order to try to obtain signatures for a petition: that they would resume work at 1d. reduction 'at the broad' and ½d. reduction 'at the narrow'. If these offers had been made in the early days of the strike, they would probably have been accepted, but not after five months of industrial dispute.^{2.}

1. Helifax Guardian, 6, 13, 20 Jul. 1850.

2. Ibid., 3, 24 Aug., 14, 21, 28 Sep. 1850.

Whereas working-class distress in Todmorden in 1850 was brought about by opposition to a reduction of wages, and was, in a sense, to some extent self-inflicted, the apprehension felt in Scammonden, Deanhead and Slaithwaite in 1852 was occasioned by the onward march of technology in the form of the power-loom. "The greater part, if not the whole, of the population", it was observed, of the upper Scammonden and Colne valleys, "consists of poor hand-loom weavers, whose daily bread depends upon their manual labour. The introduction of power looms would instantly deprive of the means of subsistence a large body of hard working men who will be obliged to look out for some other mode of earning a maintenance. However much we may rejoice at each successive improvement of machinery, yet any sudden change is much to be deprecated". Conditions and certainty of work had, however, been by no means ideal even before the threatened (and soon, the actuality of) introduction of the power-loom. Many Scammonden and Slaithwaite hand-loom weavers had "for a long time been entirely dependent on such work as they could obtain from a few Huddersfield manufacturers...One of the principal sources of employment to [the area] has been entirely dependent on the Learoyds, manufacturers in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, who for many years past have proved true friends of the poor weavers".¹

1. Halifax Guardian, 7 Feb. 1852.

Titus Crawshaw was well aware of the decline of the West Riding hand-loom weaver and of technological inroads into the traditional skills of the wool-textile worker before he emigrated to the United States from Almondbury, Huddersfield, in 1853. Born in 1832, the son of William and Susannah Crawshaw, Titus, like most of the family, was occupied in the local wool-textile industry by 1851. William Crawshaw, the father, aged 47 in 1851, had learned the skills of hand-weaving woollens before the incursion of the power-loom, and had continued at the craft despite falling wages and uncertain employment. As his family matured, William was probably able to take some comfort from the fact that, although his own craft was being replaced, his children's occupations would provide support. Indeed, Ellen, his eldest daughter (22 in 1851), was a power-loom weaver in a local woollen factory. Titus, shortly to emigrate, and Thomas (15) were employed as cloth finishers, and their sister Harriet (17) was a piecer. Three younger children had not yet entered mill employment.¹

1. C. Erickson, Invisible Immigrants....., p.329.

Titus Crawshaw's occupation in 1851 as a cloth finisher had long since disappeared as a craft skill. As early as 1812, Huddersfield croppers had rioted at the threat of the shearing-frame superseding the hand shears, though as late as 1832, the year of Titus's birth, one American visitor to the town was still able to observe: "Here I found the great and ponderous shear-blades in common use, where the light circular revolving shear-blade would have performed the same work in a more perfect manner, at half the expense for attendance. I also witnessed in an old building several men employed in raising the nap on broadcloth by teasles, applied by manual labor, instead of being attached in the now common way to the surface of the revolving barrel of a cylinder or drum, called a gig-mill, whereby two men are enabled to perform more work than a dozen in the old manner".¹ Nevertheless, even at the mid-century

1. Zachariah Allen, The Practical Tourist, or Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts, and of Society, Scenery, &c. &c. in Great-Britain, France and Holland (Providence, R.I., 1832), I. p.190 (cited by T.W. Leavitt, ed., The Hollingworth Letters....., xix).

point, Titus Crawshaw considered finishing to be a better occupation than weaving, either by hand or power, perhaps because even after mechanisation, finishing was still predominantly a male preserve. After crossing the Atlantic, Crawshaw generally continued to find work in the finishing processes in Philadelphia until the depression of the late 1850's compelled him to transfer to weaving, a retrograde step in his view. "I am only a weaver", he wrote in 1860, "but I like power looms better nor the ingrain carpet and I can make out as well. But you know weaving is only weaving".¹ By 1865, he preferred to spin yarn rather than operate gigging machines in a damp atmosphere.²

Titus Crawshaw seems to have been prompted to emigrate mainly by economic motives. Although the wool textile industry in the Huddersfield area still claimed the greatest number of employees in 1851 - indeed, during the 1840's, these had increased rapidly - overall employment in wool textiles ceased to expand in the 'fifties in the face of other

1. Titus Crawshaw, Crescentville, Penn., to Family, Taylor Hill, Almondbury, Huddersfield, 18 Jan. 1860 (C. Erickson, Invisible Immigrants....., p.347).
2. C. Erickson, Invisible Immigrants....., pp.329-30.

opportunities being created in iron manufacture, engineering, machine-making and sundry railway development. Crawshaw, therefore, had three basic choices: to be subject to the future uncertainties of the Yorkshire textile trade; to enter one of the newly expanding industries (perhaps denied to him by apprenticeship restrictions or by his indifferent health), or to seek work in his own skills elsewhere, preferably in a land of greater opportunity. Unlike the Hollingworths' in the late 'twenties, Abel Stephenson's a decade later, and many other Yorkshiremen's in the 'forties, Crawshaw's letters home reveal no Chartist fanaticism or burning hatred of powered machinery and the factory system as direct motives for emigration. Like the Hollingworths and Stephenson, however, he emigrated directly from the area of his Yorkshire birthplace: migration occurred within the adopted country, but not in his native country before departure.^{1.}

1. C. Erickson, Invisible Immigrants...., pp.330-31.

Titus Crawshaw, then aged 21, left the family household at 1327 Taylor Hill, Almondbury, Huddersfield, for Liverpool and the United States in the late summer of 1853, and sailed aboard a cholera-ridden vessel which, according to the writer, claimed the lives of between 80 and 100 passengers before reaching its destination. Arriving in New York, "filthey and add to throw some of my cloths away", he stayed five days with the Brookes family at Trenton, N.J. (the first of a number of visits), to refresh himself before going on to Philadelphia. There, he soon found work at the Globe Mill, where "I have one dollar a day at finishing...I went to learn to weave three days before I went to the finishing and I have ben working three weeks [by mid December]". He was also pleased to observe that "We work in Pensilvania and several other states only 10 hours a day that his 60 hours a week and trade his good at present and wages on the advance". Allen Hey,

like Crawshaw, a cloth finisher born (in 1830) in Almondbury, the son of a clothier, was weaving at the same mill.¹ Hey gave financial assistance until Crawshaw received his first monthly pay, and both men boarded initially at the house of William Hardy, late of Kirkheaton and (probably) Lascelles Hall, for £10 a month each, the equivalent of about one-third of earnings. After Hardy's removal from Philadelphia, Crawshaw boarded with eleven or twelve others at a Scottish widow-woman's.

Hey was only one of several Yorkshire expatriates known or encountered by Crawshaw in America. Allen Haigh, a woollen cloth dresser, was also born in Almondbury (in 1827), and had emigrated with his family to Philadelphia after 1851. Francis, the brother of Joseph Ellis, was working there. William Hodson, probably the son of John Hodson, a fancy weaver living with his large family in Taylor Hill, Almondbury, in 1851, visited New Jersey. At the second boarding

1. Allen Hey visited England in late 1854, returning with his wife the following summer: there is evidence of ill-feeling between him and Crawshaw.

house, Crawshaw became firm friends with John Wilson who, though a Scot, was the husband of Sarah, the daughter of Benjamin Walker, of Farnley Bank, Almondbury Parish: Sarah later joined her husband in America. William Bedford, the brother of Benjamin Bedford, of Taylor Hill, was working at the same mill as Crawshaw in Crescentville, Pennsylvania, in 1860.^{1.}

In early 1855, Titus Crawshaw investigated opportunities in Rock County, Wisconsin, but was not enamoured of the prospects of being a hired farm worker. Capital was needed which he did not have: "Anybody with three hundred dollars out here may live independent of anybody helping them. Been a farmer's man out here is as bad as been a slave. They wont hire anyone if they can help it for no less than six months and more than eight".^{2.}

1. Titus Crawshaw, Marshalls St., above Poplar St., Philadelphia, Philadelphia, and Crescentville, Penn., to Family. "Taylorhill, near Huddersfield", 18 Dec. 1853, 6 May, (undated), 30 Nov. 1854, 18 Jan. 1860 (Invisible Immigrants..... pp.332-37, 347; and footnotes, pp.333-36).
2. Titus Crawshaw, Porter, Rock County, Wisc., to Family, Almondbury, 16 Apr. 1855 (Invisible Immigrants..... pp.337-38).

By late June 1855, Crawshaw was back in Philadelphia, having called to see the Brookes at Trenton on his return journey. He started work at Joseph Garside's^{1.} at "6 dollars a week when I work a week and I have the highest wages of any of the finishers at the place". But employment was not always regular: "If I had ad good work all the time it would have been better. I have been playing^{2.} 7 weeks and I am likely to play 4 more before I get work. I expect to begin for my old master then. The time I was out West he failed, and he his going to commence next month...I did not like to write home when I was plaing..."^{3.} Times continued to be difficult for Crawshaw. In 1857, he joined other

1. Joseph Garside was possibly related to Joshua Garsed (or Garside), Esq. formerly of Leeds, who died at his residence near Philadelphia, 18 April 1858, aged 90 (Leeds Mercury, 13 May 1858; Halifax Guardian, 15 May 1858).
2. "playing" = unemployed. The formerly common Yorkshire dialect word, "laiking", also meant (a) playing (a game); or (b) working short-time hours.
3. Titus Crawshaw, Philadelphia, to Almondbury, 24 Jul., Dec. 1855 (Invisible Immigrants....., pp.338-40).

Huddersfield men in Norristown, Pennsylvania, but faced irregular work and frequent non-payment of his wages even when in employment. Back in Philadelphia in 1859, he lived in Crescentville Way, where he remained until 1861. After one year's Civil War service in the Union Army, from which he was discharged on medical grounds, he returned to Germantown and Philadelphia. In 1863, he visited Hespeler, Ontario, the earlier destination of his friend, John Wilson, but in 1864, he was in Germantown again. By 1865, he was living in Brockley, a town earlier incorporated into Philadelphia; but after his marriage the following year to Eliza, an Irish girl, the Crawshaws moved back into old Philadelphia.¹

The textile areas of the United States continued to attract Yorkshiremen during the 1850s. Some also joined the rush of gold-seekers to California after the metal's discovery there in the Sacramento valley in January 1848. Writing home to his brother in Bradford in December 1849 from San Francisco, one such fortune-hunter

1. C. Erickson, p.331.

reported his safe passage round Cape Horn and a brief landing in Chile. But, for a while, he had to bide his time in San Francisco: "I do not know what I may do this winter; I intend to go up to the mines next spring [1850]. At present I live on board the ship, and am engaged with others in discharging her... It is hard times here, as far as comforts are concerned; but I guess I can weather it out".¹

Similarly, Australian gold attracted many Yorkshire groups in the summer of 1852. In July, parties left Halifax regularly on the seven o'clock morning train to embark later at Liverpool for Australia. Amongst a number from Halifax and Sowerby Bridge, however, expecting to sail by the City of Lincoln, "were a few wool-sorters, who intend to follow that business when they land in their adopted country".²

With recession again particularly evident in 1857-58, and with a contemporary financial

1. Bradford Observer, 4 Apr. 1850.

2. Halifax Guardian, 17, 24 Jul. 1852.

crisis in the United States,^{1.} a number of textile workers were drawn to the Antipodes. In May 1857, a gathering of about a hundred woolsorters employed by Ackroyds of Halifax met in the Haley Hill schoolroom to bid farewell with tea, food and music to three unemployed colleagues, named Midgley, Hudson and Broadbent, who were leaving for New Zealand.^{2.} It seems likely that the trio, having paid part of their passage money - the balance due when circumstances allowed in New Zealand - sailed by the Southern Cross from Gravesend before the end of the month. Some 60 other passengers were specially selected out-of-work Londoners.^{3.} In June 1858,

1. The American financial crisis and monetary panic of 1857, with its dire effect on "operatives and the lower orders" there, are well documented in the Yorkshire press by general reports and by printed extracts of letters from America. Of the many examples of the latter, two must suffice: Joseph Penney, Philadelphia (formerly of Halifax), to Ed., Halifax Courier, 16 Oct. 1857; and a "Halifax man", N.Y., to Halifax, 1857 (Halifax Courier, 7 Nov., 12 Dec. 1857). During the same period, Titus Crawshaw's irregular employment in Philadelphia and Norristown, Penn., has already been noted.
2. Bradford Observer, 21 May 1857.
3. Halifax Courier, 30 May 1857.

encouraged by tempting reports that these and others "immediately obtained employment in Wellington on their arrival at £70 a year and rations", a large family from New Bank, Halifax, set out for New Zealand, and others were preparing to follow. "Some of these individuals", it was noted, "are woolsorters whose occupation has for a considerable time been of a very unprofitable character, the utmost of their earnings being not more than 7s.6d. per week, whilst in some instances it has been as cheerless as that of the handloom weaver..."¹. It is probable that the numbers leaving Queenshead² almost exactly one year earlier for Melbourne or America (especially one group of twelve men, three women and two children) also included unemployed woolsorters or hand-loom weavers

1. Halifax Guardian, 5 Jun. 1858.

2. Queenshead was renamed Queensbury in 1863.

formerly connected perhaps with Black Dyke Mills.^{1.}

When the 1861 Census was taken, it was noted with some dismay in the local press that, compared with figures recorded in 1851, a number of Yorkshire townships adjacent or near to large industrial centres had suffered a decrease in population. In the case of Honley township, the total of 4,626 inhabitants (2,226 males; 2,400 females) represented a decrease of 971 (or over 17 per cent) on the total of 5,597 a decade earlier. Perhaps equally significant was the fact that 183 (or 15.6 per cent) of the houses in the township were unoccupied in 1861. Despite the good geographical situation of Honley - springs, and water from the River Holme, connection with the main Yorkshire commercial towns from a centrally situated railway station, excellent stone and slate for building - despite all these advantages, population and commerce were rapidly declining as the township's inhabitants were constantly moving to more prosperous

1. Halifax Guardian, 27 Jun. 1857. Several gravestone references in a small unnamed cemetery (visited 20 May 1970) at Ambler Thorn, a short distance from Queensbury on the main Halifax road, bear witness to Queensbury emigrants who settled in Australia and New Zealand.

districts. Families of factory operatives had moved to Lancashire, as had spinners, slubbers and finishers to the Leeds and Huddersfield areas. A large number of hand-loom weavers and power-loom overlookers had removed to the neighbourhood of Dewsbury and Batley. In some respects it was considered that these were the best inhabitants of Honley, "for they had the foresight to make this necessary change".^{1.}

Whilst it is clear that many Honley workers sought employment in other northern textile districts in the 1850's, it is more than likely that a number of families and individuals looked overseas for their improvement. This was certainly true of Holmfirth, a few miles higher up the Holme Valley, which also suffered a decline in population during the decade.^{2.} Several emigrants left the neighbourhood "for the diggings" in June 1852, and many more were preparing to follow. Nine persons, chiefly young men, from the New Mill locality entrained at Holmfirth station on the first stage of their journey to Australia.^{3.} The exodus continued throughout the summer. In early August, some forty individuals, native to the area, left the "once

1. Dewsbury Reporter, 27 Apr. 1861.

2. Ibid., 4 May 1861.

3. Halifax Guardian, 26 Jun. 1852.

prosperous neighbourhood of Holmfirth" for Australia, and again, many more, especially partially employed operatives, were due to follow.¹ In July 1854, several families left Holmfirth for America and Australia.²

Similarly, in at least the second quarter of 1855 (ending 30th June), the registrar for Hebden Bridge reported "a decrease both of births and deaths in this district, consequent on the movement of the population to other districts, in order to obtain more work and better wages."³ For the most part, the migration referred to would be but a relatively short distance, but in view of other contemporary emigration to America and the Antipodes from Halifax, the Calder valley and elsewhere in West Yorkshire, some would undoubtedly make their way overseas.

1. Halifax Guardian, 14 Aug. 1852.

2. Ibid., 8 Jul. 1854.

3. Ibid., 4 Aug. 1855.